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The Catholic Historical Review

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ARCHBISHOP HUGHES AND WESTERN COLONIZATION

By

Henry J. Browne*

In a study of the life of any public figure of a century ago there are apt to be revealed attitudes or episodes that present peculiar problems to a biographer. Such is the case when certain constantly repeated interpretations have been given to a prominent facet of the career of his subject which in time are found to demand review and re-evaluation. Especially is a procedure of this kind of value when new evidence has been uncovered. With that in mind the present investigation is offered, not as a chapter in the life of John Hughes, first Archbishop of New York, but rather as a fresh attempt to understand more fully his policy and position in a matter with which his name has been prominently associated in the literature of American immigration history.

The public life of Archbishop Hughes was of such a character that it can be accurately described as full of controversies. He could hardly avoid being involved in any question that touched the Irish immigrant since the flock which he shepherded from 1842 to 1864, considering only his see city itself, was two-thirds Irish in its makeup by the mid-century. The total number of Catholics in New York was estimated at 100,000.[1] The reason for this phenomenon was found in the fact that the Irish did not move far from where they landed. In fact, it has been calculated that only twenty-five out of every hundred ever left the cities of the East for points farther west.[2]

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[1] Cf. Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863* (New York, 1949), p. 135, a heavily documented study of the lot and life of the various classes of immigrants.

In his official capacity the Archbishop of New York was to become acutely aware of any attempts to settle the Irish in western rural localities and particularly to colonize them in so-called "directed settlements."[3] It is necessary to distinguish between his attitude toward the settlement of individuals in the West and toward the planned Irish colonies. He was never opposed to but rather encouraged the former, while his opposition to the latter method established him as the prelate who more than any other can be held responsible for the predominantly urban character that American Catholicism assumed. This judgment has been based on the fact of his undoubted position of leadership among the Irish since, on the other hand, the bulk of the German Catholic immigration of the 1840's and 1850's settled in the West.[4] The judgment of Hughes by posterity has followed rather closely that of the Mid-Western prelate John Lancaster Spalding, Bishop of Peoria, who in 1880 was trying to convince the Irish of a later generation of the lack of vision of their predecessors. Spalding wrote:

> That Archbishop Hughes became the opponent of colonization is, I am persuaded, most unfortunate. No other man has ever had such influence over the Irish Catholics in the United States and no other could have done so much to make them realize that their interests for time and eternity required that they should make homes for themselves on the land.[5]

The hard reality was, however, that the Irish immigrant on the whole found the cities of the eastern seaboard more to his liking, although eventually it meant for many only the poverty and degradation of industrial slums. After landing in New York or Boston, the greenhorn called promptly at the labor contractor's office. He was usually equipped with no more than a willingness to work and the tool of his own muscle if he had not been too weakened in strength by the difficulties of the ocean crossing. His general fate has been well described by one authority of immigration when he wrote:

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[2] Frederick Kapp, *Immigration and the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York* (New York, 1870), p. 158. New York City admitted 161,490 persons in 1855, with the second city being New Orleans with 20,388, showing that New York was definitely the main port of entry. W. J. Bromwell, *History of Immigration to the United States* (New York, 1856), p. 169.

[3] On this whole question cf. Sister Mary Gilbert Kelly, O.P., *Catholic Immigrant Colonization Projects in the United States, 1815-1860* (New York, 1939).

[4] Cf. Emmet H. Rothan, *The German Catholic Immigrant in the United States (1830-1860)*, (Washington, 1946), pp. 11-13; 139-148.

[5] *The Religious Mission of the Irish People and Catholic Colonization* (New York, 1880), p. 147.

> . . . obtaining a job, he left his family in a tenement and went to Illinois or Maine, wherever his gang was sent. Sometimes he found a village or the countryside to his liking and, settling down as an odd-job man or occasionally as a farmer's helper, he sent for the family. More often he returned to the city where church and companions reproduced the pleasant social life of the old country and where he might find factory employment.[6]

Thus it was that many who in Ireland had "hungered and thirsted for land," found themselves in the United States in the condition of a "miserable town tenantry, to whose squalor even European seaports could hardly present a parallel."[7]

In a fashion worthy of a Jacob Riis of a later day, this city life was portrayed by one Irish traveler who was a contemporary of Archbishop Hughes. John Francis Maguire drew on official reports of tenement conditions, to which he added his own personal observations, which prompted him to conclude: "It is not within the power of language to describe adequately, much less exaggerate, the evil consequences of the unhappy tendency of the Irish to congregate in the large towns of America."[8] Although the author was a special pleader who had set out to combat "by argument and illustration" the sad error of the Irish peasant "lingering in the city," he did honestly point out some of the lures of urban life. After landing, most of the immigrants had little money left to push farther into the country, although Maguire maintained if they only realized the ultimate blessing of rural life, they would endure any initial hardship. Furthermore, by the mid-century old friends were to be found in the cities; likewise there was the "dram-shop kept by a countryman," and of no less importance the "chapel" and the priest were handy when needed, and schools were there for the children. Nonetheless, the over-all result was lamented by Maguire in these words:

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[6] Marcus L. Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 302.

[7] Thomas D'Arcy McGee, *The Irish Position in British and in Republican North America* (Montreal, 1866), p. 8, quoted in Isabel Skelton, *The Life of Thomas D'Arcy McGee* (Gardenvale, Canada, 1926), p. 259.

[8] *The Irish in America* (New York, 1868), p. 214.

> So the glorious chance was lost; and the simple innocent countryman, to whom the trees of the virgin forest were nodding their branches in friendly invitation, and the blooming prairie expanded its fruitful bosom in vain, became the denizen of a city, for which he was unqualified by training, by habit, and by association.[9]

Yet this Irish traveler had not been by any means the first to see in the land "the grand resource for the Irish immigrant, as well as the safest and surest means of his advancement."[10] As early as 1796 Father Demetrius Gallitzin had some Irish colonizers associated with him in western Pennsylvania while organized Irishmen in New York City were unsuccessful in petitioning Congress for a land project in Illinois Territory for such immigrants.[11] A picture of what might have been in the South where the Irish were never to penetrate in any great numbers was seen in Bishop John England's dream of settlements in 1822 which never materialized. From about 1818 in upper New York State James LeRay had groups which included many Irish settled on the land, and another and more distinctly Irish colony was located at Silva Lake in northeast Pennsylvania. Not only the benefits of farm life but also the escape from belligerent nativism had motivated Boston's Bishop Benedict J. Fenwick in 1834 when he established Benedicta in Maine.[12]

Even when they went to the land emigrants from Ireland did not in this early period often move to the West. It was rare indeed to find such organized parishes as Armagh and Downpatrick about fifty miles outside of St. Louis in the early 1840's. Yet it was west of the Mississippi that there was found the outstanding proponent of Catholic colonization before 1860, the Bishop of Dubuque, Mathias Loras. He invited all national groups and through the medium of such eastern papers as the New York *Freeman's Journal,* but he particularly sought to have the Irish settle in Iowa. He received co-operation in his efforts from the Irish Emigrant Society of New York and the growth of towns with names like Garryowen and Wexford indicate his success, to say nothing of the emulation of his policies by Bishop Joseph

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[9] *Ibid.*, p. 215, cf. also pp. vi, 425.

[10] *Ibid., p. 237.*

[11] This summary is based on Kelly, *op. cit., passim.*

[12] Cf. Robert H. Lord, John E. Sexton, Edward T. Harrington, *A History of the Archdiocese of Boston* (New York, 1944), II, *passim.*

Cretin of St. Paul who was his former vicar general and followed his methods.[13]

Although John Hughes sympathized with these western bishops, and according to Cretin was very helpful in getting government aid for Indian schools and even supplied St. Paul with a much needed candidate for the priesthood, he was never to favor the planned colonization which these western prelates considered so important for the progress of the Church.[14] It is necessary, however, to appreciate his position in the light of his attitude on the western settlement of the Irish. It is quite evident that he was not opposed to his countrymen's betaking themselves to the farming sections of the United States. His public claim in 1857 was that, "he had ever given to the emigrant who came his way the advice rather to seek a home in the West than remain in our cities."[15] The blessings of one rural community which had begun with a notable conversion to the Catholic faith so impressed him after visiting the settlement near Pompey, New York, that he penned a report of this group of eighteen souls to the council of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Lyons.[16] The Irish Emigrant Society,[17] which was formed in 1841 with the bishop's blessing and had at its head the prominent leader and veteran Irish rebel, Dr. William J. MacNevin, addressed itself to the people of Ireland in unmistakable terms: "We would tell all to avoid the Atlantic cities and to distribute themselves throughout the land."[18] Furthermore, the *Freeman's Journal* which was under the watchful eye of Hughes, though not yet in his immediate control, indicated by its correspondence columns what it announced editorially:

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[13] M. M. Hoffman, *The Church Founders of the Northwest—Loras and Cretin and Other Captains of Christ* (Milwaukee, 1937), p. 352. *Freeman's Journal* August 20, 1842, July 8, 1854. Kelly, *op. cit.*, pp. 143, 163.

[14] New York Archdiocesan Archives, hereafter, NYAA, Cretin to Hughes, St. Paul, August 12, 1852, January 15, 1853.

[15] Lawrence Kehoe (Ed.), *Complete Works of the Most Rev. John Hughes, D.D.*, (New York, 1866), II, 751, part of his comments after the speech of Rev. J. F. Trecy on March 26, 1857.

[16] John R. G. Hassard, *Life of the Most Reverend John Hughes, D.D.* (New York, 1866), pp. 201-202; John Talbot Smith, *History of the Catholic Church in New York* (New York, 1915),I, 118.

[17] Richard J. Purcell, "The Irish Emigrant Society of New York," *Studies*, XXVII (December, 1938), 583-599. Thomas Meehan, "Emigrant Aid Societies," *Catholic Encyclopedia,* V, 403, errs in giving most of the credit to Hughes for the organization. Cf. New York *Freeman's Journal,* March 27, 1841.

[18] New York *Freeman's Journal,* October 16, 1841.

> It will always gratify us to receive authentic and reliable information from all parts of the country which promise advantages to settlers. Inquiries are constantly made on the subject and we shall endeavor from time to time to give through our columns whatever information we may gather in relation to it.[19]

In May, 1843, at the very time when the bishop was putting his influence publicly behind a drive for the support of this newspaper, it carried in detail a plan for organized colonization. The journal favorably publicized the prospectus of the Catholic Emigration Society of Ireland which had plans for settlements centering in Wisconsin. This movement was under the patronage of Daniel O'Connell as well as churchmen and other leaders in Ireland. After working three years it was hoped that even a poor settler by an arrangement with the society would be able to own his own land. They planned, too, for priests to go with the emigrants from Ireland. This scheme was not received without comment from the *Freeman's* in the two issues in which it was featured. On the whole the reaction was favorable and the society's leaders were advised to get in touch with the emigrant societies of New York, Boston, and Vincennes and especially with Bishop Loras. This scheme of 1843 was the closest thing that could be found to what John Hughes later referred to as,

> one of my early dreams in which I imagined that I might associate a number of worthy gentlemen in an undertaking from motives of pure philanthrophy—motives of Irish patriotism, I may call it or at least a love of my country—to buy ten or twenty thousand acres of land in what is now called Wisconsin and that they should dispose of those acres in small lots to emigrants, that is, to those who should know how to use the axe and even the plough in this country; to have always cabins in advance for those who might come, and still keep it working regularly, so as to bear its own expenses.[20]

The New York prelate's concluding remarks on this occasion most likely referred to the distinguished laymen with whom he was already associated in matters pertaining to the immigrant, or to such politicians as William H. Seward, Governor of New York, or Thurlow Weed with whom he sailed to Europe after attending the Fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore in May, 1843. He said of the project that had caught his momentary interest, "that was the theory; but when I spoke of it to gentlemen of means and intelligence, they said it was all nonsense." With regard to the Catholic Emigration Society of Ireland, "nothing came of the idealistic and impractical programme."[21]

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[19] *Ibid.*, March 12, 1842.

[20] Hassard, *op. cit.*, p. 393, where the remarks of March 26, 1857, are given in the first person, while in Keogh, *op. cit.*, II, 751-755, they are given more fully and in the third person.

It seems, however, that by the late 1850's it was as much a matter of personalities as of principles that prompted Archbishop Hughes to advance beyond disillusionment to the stage of active hostility to Irish colonization projects. His three antagonists in this regard, all of whom at one time or another invaded his archdiocese, were General James Shields, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, and Father Jeremiah F. Trecy. Father Theobald Mathew, the famous apostle of total abstinence, might have been another. In Ireland he had been a supporter of the Catholic Emigration Society. During the Irish Capuchin's triumphant tour of the United States from 1849 to 1851 he at first stopped with the Archbishop while in New York. But it was in Boston in July, 1849, that he came out publicly in favor of purchasing land in the West for the settlement of poor Irish. The friar apparently aroused Hughes so much by his consorting with non-Catholics in public meetings—even though he valiantly resisted attempts of the abolitionists to use his presence for their own ends—that his notions of rural colonization went unheeded generally and died from lack of attention.[22]

Shields, on the other hand, was able to put his ideas into action, and this despite Archbishop Hughes. A hero of the Mexican War and a former judge in Illinois, he had been appointed by President James K. Polk as Commissioner of the Federal Land Office in Washington before serving as United States Senator from Illinois from 1848 to 1854. Having failed to win re-election in 1855 the general went out to Minnesota to select with a now experienced eye some lands due him for his war services.[23] It was later recorded:

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[21] Purcell, "The Irish Emigrant Society of New York," *op. cit.*, p. 592.

[22] Cf. Cuthbert A. Goeb, O.S.B., "The Journey of Father Theobald Mathew to America, 1849-1851." Unpublished master's dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1922; Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Hughes to Eccleston, New York, July 22, 1849.

[23] Cf. William H. Condon, *Life of General Shields* (Chicago, 1900). This biography is so highly laudatory as to arouse suspicion of its reliability. More satisfactory for a brief treatment is Richard J. Purcell, "James Shields: Soldier and Statesman," *Studies*, XXI (March, 1932), 73-87.

He was so favorably impressed with the country that he decided to go East and organize a large colony of Irish Americans to settle on the fertile soil of Rice and LaSueur counties. His project met with much general approval but was vigorously opposed by Archbishop Hughes, then at the head of the American hierarchy, and was only partly successful.[24]

The details of the archbishop's demonstration of disapproval are found only in Shields' biography and are based on imperfect recollections he put down after forty years.[25] Apparently ex-Senator Shields went to New York early in 1855 since he laid out land for the prospective village in the spring, and that was only after returning westward. After considerable discussion with prominent Catholics the time for taking practical steps was reached. One evening in an unidentified church basement in Hughes' see city Shields' speech, which had made a fine impression on the gathering, was answered by the archbishop himself. He took the platform and proceeded to break up the meeting by condemning the project and pointing out especially the spiritual dangers to the people who would be taken away from their churches. As he left the hall, Shields is supposed to have answered the prelate privately by telling him, "he could not see beyond the length of his nose." The people, the brave general protested, would not be neglected, for they would build their own churches. Furthermore, "they would not only benefit themselves, but they would prove benefactors to your poorly-paid and apparently half-fed curates, one of whom they would invite to come and dwell in their midst as their honored parish priest." According to this version of the incident, which could not be verified from any other documentary or newspaper source, Hughes retired speechless—something that is fairly difficult to accept, given his militant character.

Despite this set-back, Shields met with some success. In his praise it was later said:

> The fruits of his labors as a colonizer are the townships of Shieldsville, Erin, Kilkenny, Montgomery, in our counties of Rice and LaSueur, where reside hundreds of industrious and wealthy farmers, of whose good American citizenship their Celtic name give sure guarantee.[26]

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[24] Henry Castle, "General James Shields," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society,* XV (1915), 731.

[25] Condon, *op. cit.,* p. 52.

[26] John Ireland, "Address at the Unveiling of the Statue of General Shields in the Capital of Minnesota, October 20, 1914," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society,* XV (1915), 731.

The relationship of Archbishop Hughes and Thomas D'Arcy McGee was not as simple as his contacts with Shields. The Hughes-McGee difficulty dated back to 1848 when the revolutionary Young Ireland movement fostered by McGee, an escaped rebel, and finally endorsed by Hughes, met such a sad if not ignominious end.[27] In the *Freeman's Journal* of September 8, 1848, the prelate turned his journalistic guns on the movement and on McGee personally. The controversy raged through January, 1849, with Hughes under the title of "An Irish Catholic," condemning the violent Irishman and his publication, the *Nation*. Henceforth on the basis, so it would seem, of this first serious difference Hughes suspected everything with which McGee associated himself, including the promotion of a night school in 1849.[28] Nothing daunted, the Irish publicist and agitator betook himself to the more favorable climate of Bishop John Fitzpatrick's Boston where the notion of his calling received further development. In 1851 he wrote of the glories of the Irish past and of the hope for the future based in part on the arrival of educated men among the immigrants, particularly, "barristers and journalists."[29] More important still was the emphasis he began to express after a trip through some Canadian rural settlements of transplanted Irish. McGee concluded like many observant travelers before and since that time: "The great salvation for the Irishmen in the United States lay in taking them out of the cities and back to the land. The root of all their misfortune sprang from their stopping in the cities." As editor of the *American Celt* after August, 1850, he bellowed that message to his countrymen in prose and poetry, "Arise and Go," he urged them, and always—westward. His first aim was to create an Irish public opinion which would rebel against the lot of what he termed a "perverted peasantry."[30]

McGee's success brought him for a second time under the scrutiny of Archbishop Hughes. Through the columns of the *American Celt* the widespread enthusiasm for the colonization cause was organized into a movement during the year 1855. It finally succeeded in bringing together from scattered regions seventy-two Canadians and Americans of Irish origin in Buffalo on February 12, 1856, for what was called "The Irish Catholic Convention for the promotion of Actual Settlements in North America."[31] The gathering had the ecclesiastical blessing which accompanied the presence of thirty-two clerics. Previous discussion and interchange of opinion, it was decided, was to be channeled by means of the convention into the realm of the practical. The Boston *Pilot,* in accord with the Catholic press in general and in contradistinction to some invasion-fearing Canadian Protestant journals, called the Buffalo meeting the "first practical movement for the benefit of our race on this side of the Atlantic." It felt that not only was its purpose a good one, but that at its end, "harmony prevailed and good results may be expected from its deliberations.[32] The concrete and immediate result of the four days of reports and discussions was the resolution to have men with means form joint stock companies to buy up some choice lands in the western United States and Canada where poorer Irish might settle and be obliged to pay off the cost only gradually. There were, of course, many provisos entered which aimed at assuring honesty and respect for ecclesiastical authority.[33]

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[27] Hassard, *op. cit.*, pp. 304-311.

[28] Skelton, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-180.

[29] Thomas D'Arcy McGee, *A History of the Irish Settlers in North America from the Earliest Period to the Census of 1850* (Boston, 1852), p. 174.

[30] Skelton, *op. cit.*, pp. 259, 262.

The chief opposition and adverse criticism of the Buffalo convention came from John Hughes' New York paper. The *Freeman's Journal* led off with an editorial, "The Irish in America—Their Position and Destiny—Their Duty to the Church and to the Country." Thus was the convention represented: ". . . to preach a general stampede from our cities is merely Quixotic and can result in nothing more serious than calling forth the jeers of the country."[34] The editorials of the following weeks saw serious threats from the Canadian element of the group which in inducing the American Irish to colonize Canada was making them, "catspaws of the British."[35] One answer from a member of the convention appeared in the press and he made a few charges of his own to the effect that Editor James A. McMaster was ignorant of the condition of the Irish in the United States. He was advised to look about himself at the depravity of New York City and he was asked how he dared to impeach as dupes or knaves thirty-two venerable and learned clergymen, seven of whom were vicars general of dioceses, who had been at Buffalo.[36] An up-state New York priest gave the milder advice to Hughes' paper through the columns of Boston's Catholic weekly, "Let the proprietor of the Freeman's change the course of his bark, fix a new rudder to it,—and be guided by the Pilot."[37]

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[31] For an account of the convention, cf. Kelly, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-237.

[32] Boston *Pilot,* February 23, 1852.

[33] Skelton, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

[34] March 1, 1856. From the issue of November 6, 1854; on it was marked, "The Official Organ of the Archbishop."

[35] *Ibid.*, March 23, 1856.

[36] *Pilot,* March 15, 1856.

The *Pilot* generally carried McGee's side of the story, which included his reaction to the New York opposition. An item appearing on April 26, 1856, told of the approval given to the Buffalo plans by the Bishops of Pittsburgh, Dubuque, Buffalo, and Wheeling. At that time, Hughes' personal opposition, in addition to that of the *Freeman's,* had yet to be dramatically made known. McGee, nonetheless, indicated what were most likely his feelings towards Hughes at this time when he said, "These cheering facts are the best answers to splenetic and envious objectors, who hate the good work on account of some few of the workmen engaged in it."

Yet in spite of much encouraging interest, the "good work" was doomed to an early death. Such reactions as the sarcastically critical reception, given by the *Freeman's Journal* to the report of the committee of the convention which appeared on August 30, 1856, were probably not of prime consequence.[38] By the end of 1856, however, the Archbishop of New York had spoken personally and with some verve on the subject, but again with what practical results it is hard to estimate. His comments were the by-products of what he published in the December issue of *The Metropolitan* magazine entitled, "Reflections and Suggestions in regard to What is called the Catholic Press in the United States." He obviously had doubts about the right to such a name on the part of papers that considered the Catholic religion able to prosper in the United States only as a Celtic institution, as well as those which felt the national character out of harmony with Catholicism, and so veered toward Americanizing Catholic doctrine. After detailing the varied national backgrounds of the hierarchy and the zeal nevertheless of all the bishops for native vocations he went on:

> Now supposing that Catholics of foreign birth, the "first and second generation of emigrants," should or could go forth, following the course of the sun in search of the *el dorado* of independent agricultural life, where every man might repose under *his own* vine and fig-tree (that is, in case he should ever have a vine or fig-tree to repose under) as poetically imagined in the organ of the Buffalo Convention, in its original *thema,* not in its discordant *variations:*—supposing all this, what then? Why

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[37] *Ibid.,* April 12, 1856.

[38] New York *Freeman's Journal,* September 6, 1856.

> this: the bishops and priests of the eastern, northeastern, and northwestern dioceses, whether of a native or foreign birth, will have among other considerations, hardly Catholics enough left to keep the grass from growing green in the vestibules of the churches built by the departed "neglected first and second lost generation of emigrants." But then, on the other hand, the presence of foreigners having been removed, the bishops and priests will have ample time to address their ministry to those who are to the "manor born."[39]

From this he concluded, with some gap in his logic, that Catholics could not afford to distinguish among themselves as between foreigners and natives.

Hughes' article then attacked the *American Celt* explicitly. An editorial picture that journal had drawn of the degradation of the Irish immigrant in New York was exaggerated, he felt, and at any rate, no matter how hard his lot, the Irishman's condition was much better than it had been in Ireland, and further:

> it is truth to say that in their actual condition they are surrounded by appointments of civilization, and even the comparative comforts of a temporary home, which by no means await them, in the contingency (which will never happen) that the philanthropy of a convention in Buffalo should be able to pluck to the surface, from the fertile depths of Illinois prairies, a township to be called St. Patrick's.[40]

The archbishop in general took an optimistic view of the progress of American Catholicism. He questioned if apostasy was any more widespread in the United States than it was abroad, and he attributed it in both cases to the "bread and Bibles" of Protestantism. On this occasion Hughes made much of recent notable conversions, especially that of Orestes Brownson, and although he lamented Brownson's Americanizing emphasis, he asked for Catholic support of his *Review*. The *American Celt,* on the contrary, was classed for irreligion with the *Irish American* which was edited by a Protestant. His conclusion was an appeal for unity among American Catholics to counteract sowers of discord.

As if this were not enough, hopes born at Buffalo were further dashed when with the beginning of 1857, government land grants to railroads resulted in the closing of half of the land offices in the West and South which had sold land to actual settlers.[41] McGee's biographer offered a consideration from another and significant viewpoint. In commenting on the all-important task of canvassing potential share holders and even settlers, she pointed out that it was, "left vaguely as everybody's business or anybody's business." So it came about that, "the practical results of the convention amounted to nothing."[42] At mid-year of 1857 Thomas D'Arcy McGee went to Canada to live out an eventful life as orator-hero of the Confederation which came to the Dominion in 1867, and one year before the goal was attained he fell victim to an assassin's bullet.

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[39] Kehoe, *op cit.,* II, 689-690. The archbishop's papers reveal that in 1855 John Gilmary Shea, the historian and publicist, was supplying him with statistical data on the progress of the Church in the United States, but the purpose or ultimate use of it could not be determined.

[40] *Ibid.,* p. 692.

Although he doubtless felt he had had enough, McGee never received the full brunt of Archbishop Hughes' objection to the colonization convention which he had fostered. The sentiments of the archbishop, found among his papers on six legal size sheets, have remained unpublished up to this time. The fullness of detail with which he revealed his mind makes this document worthy of extended quotation. At the outset he said:

> There is no people in the world, whether at home or abroad so overdosed with counsel and advice as the Irish. Their friends advise them, their enemies advise them, those who are indifferent about their welfare advise them in like manner.
>
> The last gentle advice that has been rendered to them in this country, emanates from what is called the Buffalo Convention. The good intentions of those who composed that spontaneous and self-constituted assembly, it is unnecessary to question. There is one thing in its favor, that a con-

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[41] Kelly, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-263. Among the local groups founded to follow up the work of Buffalo was one at St. Louis. The president was Father John Kelly, former Liberian missioner and then pastor of St. Peter's Church, Jersey City, in the Diocese of Newark. (*Ibid.*, p. 247). This is probably what Augustus Thébaud, S. J., *Forty Years in the United States of America, 1839-1885* (New York, 1904), p. 278, had in mind when he recalled Kelly as presiding over a society in New York and sending his assistant, James Coyle, on a scouting trip westward. The recital of Coyle's returning in several years completely disheartened and dying shortly thereafter is contradicted by the fact that the younger priest died only in 1872—and then from heat exhaustion while working in New York City! Michael A. Corrigan, "Register of the Clergy Laboring in the Archdiocese of New York from Early Missionary Times to 1885." *Historical Records and Studies*, VI, Part II December, 1913), 177.

[42] Skelton, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

siderable number of the Catholic clergy, whether of the United States or of Canada were present and probably took part in the deliberations of the so-called Convention.

If Huges' words suggested some doubt about the active participation of the Catholic clergy at Buffalo, the secrecy of the sessions may be recalled in attenuation of that suspicion. His analysis of the meeting and its prospects was expressed more positively:

> Without questioning the purity of motives of any one connected with this meeting, one may be allowed to say that it was a most superfluous, unnecessary and unprofitable assemblage. It has added no single new idea to the common stock of information by which individual emigrants might be guided in the selection of their future homes. It has repeated what was known before, that there is a great deal of waste land, fertile withal, in the Eastern and Western provinces of Canada and on the Western boundaries of the present United States. It has also proclaimed what was sufficiently known before that in the Eastern large cities whether of the seaboard or of the immediate neighborhood of the interior there are great numbers of Irish emigrants who have to struggle against all the miseries incident to their condition. It has announced in substance what cannot be denied by any one, that the conditions of such persons could hardly be deteriorated physically, religiously, or morally by any transition from East to West. Having said thus much we have abridged the whole amount of new light which the discussion of the question in the Buffalo Convention has shed on this very important topic.
>
> Next however the convention volunteers its benevolent advice and thereby assumes the responsibility which should induce conscientious persons familiar with the whole subject to pause and hesitate before they offered it to the very few who may be imposed upon and deceived by their silly theories.

The personal element of the archbishop's own experience, and especially his feelings towards McGee, led him to continue in this vein:

> Our confidence in the wisdom of the advice thus offered to the Irish is considerably diminished by the fact that some at least of those who have taken a leading part in the movement have hardly proved themselves competent to manage their own private affairs. If they would take a little advice from the experience and good sense of those whom they have the arrogance to instruct they would probably succeed better in the management of their own private and personal interests. Still advice, like politeness, costs but little to those who administer it, though it should prove very dear to such as may be misled and deceived by its erroneousness.

> The writer of this is acquainted with the circumstances of Catholics both in the East and in the West, and nothing on earth could induce him to give such advice as has emanated from the Buffalo Convention in regard to Catholic emigrants in this country. It may happen that persons misled by that advice will commemorate it in the bitterness of disappointment by tears on their cheeks and maledictions on their lips.

In view of the fact that there were veteran missionaries present at the gathering in Buffalo, Hughes' argument did not gather strength as he proceeded:

> Again, if those members of the Buffalo Convention who are not anchored to their present domicile by bonds which cannot be sundered were in earnest, one might expect that they would offer themselves as leaders and pioneers to exhibit the practical reality of happiness which they have so gorgeously painted in the idea of owning land, more or less, in the Western country. This however is a test to which it does not appear that a single member of the convention was equal. Their language is in substance as addressed to their Catholic fellow countrymen, "Go you, we stay." It is difficult to perceive that if this advice is good for their neighbors it should not be good for themselves also.

The kernel of Archbishop Hughes' objection to western colonization—the impracticability of the planners—was revealed in the following:

> It must not be inferred however that the writer is opposed to the diffusion of emigrants into those portions of the country in which land may be obtained and in which living is cheap and labor has its fair recompense. But there is a natural process by which this result is perpetually going on. Poor emigrants not finding employment in one place seek it in another. And then when they go westward especially, [they] acquire a certain practical knowledge of the production of the soil or the mines in the neighborhoods in which they find themselves. With this necessary knowledge, as a far more important capital than the limited amount which they may have economized from their labors, they sometimes acquire a title to lands, or in other interests by which their temporal prosperity is increased. But the idea of disturbing the minds of those who may be already established, whether in the East or in the West by a gilded and exaggerated report of theoretical blessings, which are in reserve for them, provided they can acquire the nominal ownership of 60 or 100 acres of uncultivated land, not unfrequently teeming with fever and ague—remote from the church—remote from the school—remote [from] the Post Office—remote from the physician—remote from the neighbors—this idea is dangerous, just so far as any Catholic emigrant is liable to be misled and deceived thereby.

> Then besides, our convention have [*sic*] understood that capital, more or less will be necessary, for those who shall be found simple enough to follow their advice. This being the case, that advice is tendered to those who, wherever they are located whether in the East or in the West, have been already, to some extent, successful in their industrial efforts. One might suppose that if they are doing well, it would be unwise for them to give up the certainty which they have for the uncertainty which is proposed to them.
>
> But passing from this class our attention is directed to another, the condition of which has exercised the deep reflection and roused the benevolence of the Buf. Convention. We mean the hundreds and thousands who in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and New Orleans are living in the proverbial wretchedness usually associated with the idea of a residence in cellars and in garrets. Now this class could not but improve their condition by a change to the open fields of the rural districts. But then the convention has not been able to devise any practical system of ways and means by which this could be transported to better homes, even if they themselves were willing to go. A great majority of them are entirely unfit by any sudden transition to enter on the multifarious industry which a settlement on wild land pre-supposes. They know not how to use the axe, if the land is to be cleared of timber. They know not how to hew and shape the logs necessary for the construction of their first rude cabin. They know not how to guide the plough in the prairies. They are inexpert in almost every element necessary to carry out the impractical ideal of their Buffalo advisers.[43] But even if this were not the case the Buffalo Convention has not suggested any adequate means, either for their transportation to the west, or for the means of their living there until the combined fruitfulness of the earth and their own labor should furnish them with the sustenance of life. Suppose they were skilful in clearing the wild land of timber, the Buffalo Convention has not told us who shall provide them with an axe—who shall construct their first cabin—who shall provide them with a plough, and other necessary farming utensils.

Like one overstressing his point as he reached a conclusion, Hughes accused the convention of having trifled with the property of others when they had only spoken of possible sources for the financial backing that was considered necessary.

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[43] The statistics on land holding between 1841 and 1857 in Ireland show about thirty percent less people cultivating enough land to be able to say they were living off it. This was apart from the great differences in the farming techniques of Ireland and the American West. Moritz J. Bonn, *Modern Ireland and Her Agrarian Problem* (Dublin, 1906), p. 46; Frances Morehouse, "The Irish Migration of the Forties," *American Historical Review,* XXXIII (April, 1928), 580.

> They have indeed in the ungraciousness of benevolence, [ ] that there are here and there Catholics who by industry and enterprise have become wealthy—and they have modestly suggested that a portion of this wealth wh. is not theirs might be appropriate for the disbursement of expenses to be incurred by the General Committee in carrying out the project recommended by the Buf. Convention. They have also discovered that there are millions and millions of dollars owned by Catholics and emigrants deposited in the savings banks of large cities and have insinuated that if these funds were placed in the hands of the general committee for carrying out the philanthropic purposes of the convention, the project would not turn out to be so idle a speculation as we have supposed. There is only one mistake, and that is, that the convention in alluding to these resources undertook to dispose of property which they had not earned, which did not belong to them and of which, without special permission from its owners they had no right either to dispose of, or to allude to as they have done.

Much of this opinion set down in the privacy of his study was voiced publicly by Archbishop Hughes shortly after the Buffalo convention. The document given in detail above was most likely a draft of the open letter which Hughes proposed to write to James Roosevelt Bayley, his former secretary and then Bishop of Newark, on the evening of March 26, 1857. Bayley had informed the Archbishop that he was reported as favoring the colonization scheme of Father Jeremiah F. Trecy who was to speak in the Broadway Tabernacle that evening. Hassard, who chronicled Hughes' life at close range, does not say if the letter was ever written, but only that, "after the bishop had left him he thought over the matter, and the end of it was, that without telling anyone what he was going to do, he put on his hat and walked quietly to the Tabernacle."[44]

The announced attraction at the Tabernacle on that March night was the lecture of Father Trecy who had been sent to the Buffalo Convention as the official delegate of Bishop Mathias Loras of Dubuque. His subject was to be his colony of St. Patrick, but this St. Patrick was in Nebraska.[45] The *Herald* credited him with giving "an intelligible and instructive account of the soil, climate, physical peculiarities and commercial advantages of the different States and Ter-

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[44] Hassard, *op. cit.*, p. 392.

[45] Hoffman, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

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ritories of the Far West."[46] As the speaker concluded his remarks, the Archbishop of New York, wrapped in an overcoat and muffler, stood up in the gallery, refused a shouted invitation to take the stage, and voiced his disapproval of both the priest and his plan.[47] The New York *Daily Times* was certainly justified in labeling this piece of news a "Singular Finale."[48]

Trecy, who although about twenty-five years younger was like Hughes born in County Tyrone, Ireland, and educated at Mount Saint Mary's College in Emmitsburg, on coming to New York City had called on the archbishop, but prudently or otherwise, he had remained silent about the full purpose of his visit. Hence the night of his talk Hughes charged Trecy with deception as well as being a dupe of McGee and the land speculators, some of whom he now claimed had been behind the meeting in Buffalo. In the spring of 1857 this hitherto unhurled, and thereafter unproved charge, namely, that speculators were involved, proved very handy and timely, for the pre-panic days had been distinctly marked by wild speculation in land.[49] With equal vehemence the prelate denied that there was selfish opposition on the part of bishops and priests to real philanthropic schemes. The use of the archbishop's old but brief enthusiasm for a colonization project[50] as evidence of his favoring any such plan as Trecy's was branded as misrepresentation. McGee who was in the audience also came in for a rebuke since Hughes credited him as the chief promoter of the Buffalo convention in which he saw "nothing but hollowness." Furthermore, the *American Celt* was accused of originating "the humbug, that the priests and bishops of this part of the country . . . were afraid their churches would be deserted by favoring it."[51] On the contrary, Hughes maintained the Archdiocese of New York even then needed ten more churches and all would be delighted to see the western bishops blessed with "fluorishing congregations." The archbishop repeated his conviction that the Irish immigrant would be better off to go West as an individual and he added the note of opposition to an Irish social isolation from their fellow-Americans, when he "scouted the notion of towns strictly Irish." He was fearful they might eventually become, as he expressed it, "as distinct as the Mormons." This Americanization emphasis of the Irish-born prelate which had so won William H. Seward, had been brought out before in the public press even with regard to western settlement.[52]

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[46] New York *Herald,* March 27, 1857.

[47] Kehoe, *op. cit.,* II, 751.

[48] March 27, 1857.

[49] Benjamin Horace Hibbard, *A History of the Public Land Policies* (New York, 1924), pp. 221, 223.

[50] Cf. *supra,* p. 262.

[51] Kehoe, *op. cit.,* II, 751.

In his attempted rebuttal Trecy mentioned that he had come with the full permission of Bishop Loras but he "refused to reply to the Archbishop's question as to who called the meeting."[53] Hughes took the floor again and commented on "the discomforts, the afflictions, the mental and religious evils which were frequently the result of rude Western life," and once more strongly disavowed the whole movement. The Nebraska priest was at least able to deny any connection with land speculators before Hughes had "catechized the gentleman with considerable asperity."[54] "While the audience had not yet overcome their surprise at His Grace's intrusion," said the New York *Herald* of the closing scene of the episode, Hughes "took his hat and his way homewards."[55] Little wonder that years later Father Trecy used to tell members of his Catholic colony how he had been "ordered out of New York by Archbishop Hughes."[56]

It would appear that not many bothered to answer Hughes at that time. The day after, in reporting the meeting, the *Daily Times,* with which the archbishop had been at odds on other matters since January, carried an editorial entitled "A Curious Spectacle," in which it berated him for what it considered the latest instance of his blocking the improvement of the immigrant's lot. The *Herald,* the only other New York paper to carry the story, was content to editorialize in its news item: "According to the Archbishop, the West is in a sad way for doctors, barbers and the other luxuries of eastern civilization, and it is wrong for anybody, more especially a priest to point it out as a place for 'systematic' settlement."[57] On the other hand, some months later one disgruntled group of would-be colonizers publicly thanked Hughes for his action. Led by Peter and Edward Clarke these twenty immigrants returned from St. Patrick's in Nebraska and publicized the fact that they considered Hughes' denunciation almost inspired since to their minds it had been directed againt a "disgraceful swindle practiced on the poor Catholic people of the United States."[58] A judicious weighing of the Clarke diatribe against Trecy's colony has resulted in the conclusion that it was not, however, very objective any more than the propaganda which in the first instance had lured the group to Nebraska.[59]

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[52] New York *Freeman's Journal,* October 27, 1855; NYAA, Seward to Hughes, Albany, November 10, 1841. "You have my dear Sir, a high vocation here. One no less than that of lifting the vast and influential emigrant Catholic population from a condition of inferiority and exclusion, to equality and harmony with all other sects and citizens. You are endowed with genius, vigor, firmness, and appreciation of truth which seems to me guarantees your success."

[53] New York *Herald,* March 27, 1857.

[54] Kehoe, *op. cit.,* II, 755.

[55] New York *Herald,* March 27, 1857.

[56] John O'Grady, "Irish Colonization in the United States," *Studies,* XIX (September, 1931), 398-399.

But the West was not completely silent. Although one answer must have been in many western Catholic minds, it was not uttered until repeated by Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul forty years later. It had been written even before Hughes' objections based on the privations of emigrating to the West had been publicly voiced. In an open letter to the Boston *Pilot* and New York *Freeman's Journal* two years before Bishop Loras had invited settlers, but with this caution: "They must submit to some and many privations in the beginning even in a religious point of view, if they wish to settle in a new country, and in course of time, make it Catholic." He looked upon the settlers as sharing in the apostolic work of planting the faith and he did not fear, for, as he said, "There is no doubt that the Almighty supplies by his divine providence, this want of churches and clergymen for a while."[60] Trecy at least was intent on vindicating his motives, and without naming his episcopal opponent, he added the following clarifying postscript to an open letter:

> Lest the imputation as to motive gathered from what has been said, may be supposed to refer to others who were present at my lecture, I feel bound to say that no one there present, neither the editor of the "American Celt,"

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[57] March 27, 1857.

[58] New York *Freeman's Journal,* July 18, 1857.

[59] Kelly, *op. cit.,* p. 254.

[60] New York *Freeman's Journal,* January 20, 1855. Quoted by Ireland in "Rt. Rev. Mathias Loras, First Bishop of Dubuque," *Catholic World,* LXVIII (October, 1898), 3, which was also used as an introduction to Louis DeCailly, *Memoirs of Bishop Loras, First Bishop of Dubuque, Iowa, and of Members of His Family from 1792-1858* (New York, 1897).

nor any one else who attended the Buffalo Convention is directly or indirectly interested in the lands of St. Patrick's Colony.[61]

Meanwhile, the priest had returned to the comparatively quiet life of a Nebraska colonizer, Indian missioner, and Civil War chaplain,[62] and the historian of the Archdiocese of New York concluded his recital of this incident in the reign of its first archbishop with the words, "There were no further enterprises of this kind during his lifetime."[63]

Those who have written of Irish Catholic emigrant colonization in the West have not failed to note with regret, and at times with a pointed finger of accusation, the strong stand of Archbishop Hughes. Thus while a New York Jesuit and contemporary of Hughes, remembered his opposition as principally based on the spiritual abandonment into which the colonizers of the West would fall, on the other hand, one historian of Bishop Cretin's area evaluated his position as "destructive to the growth of the Church in the West."[64] Yet it is very necessary to keep in mind other factors in judging the influence of Archbishop Hughes on the collapse of the colonizing projects. By the late 1850's the furor of Know-Nothingism, which had been used as a point of argument by advocates of colonization and had helped to drive some Irish Catholics out of the cities, was quieting down. Furthermore, the wide open spaces of the West were no longer there for the taking as had been true previously since many government grants had been made to the railroads. Consequently, as some have reasoned "even without the Bishop's opposition conditions were adverse."[65]

All students of the Irish immigrant, both those who observed him at first hand, as well as those who have studied him in perspective, have speculated as to why as a peasant he took so readily to the American cities and even shunned the land. It has been suggested that a decreasing number of the new arrivals had even sustained themselves by farming in Ireland; that many arrived without money enough to get them beyond the Atlantic port of entry, and again, that their ignorance of the methods of American farming killed whatever glimmers of initiative were left. Moreover, "Irish gregariousness and the incentive of cash wages in the city were other factors. In some cases, the demoralizing effects of the saloon and political clubs in the city operated to keep Irishmen from moving West."[66] The very mental outlook of the Irish-American worked against the success of schemes such as that of McGee. The second generation especially was not to be attracted by what they had to offer.

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[61] New York *Daily Times,* April 8, 1857.

[62] Kelly, *op. cit.,* pp. 253-259.

[63] Smith, *op. cit.,* I, 160.

[64] Thébaud, *op. cit.,* p. 228; Humphrey Moynihan, "Archbishop Ireland's Colonies," *Acta et Dicta,* VI (October, 1934), 214.

[65] Humphrey J. Desmond, "A Century of Irish Immigration," *American Catholic Quarterly Review,* XXV (July, 1900), 528.

> McGee's dream for them looked to be merely a sluggish farming settlement lost in some backwater bay. It was the kind of place they shunned—maybe in more sympathetic moments contemptuously pitied. They aimed to hold their place and make their way in the hurrying go-ahead world of commerce, industry, and intellect which their new American home opened up before them.[67]

The second meeting of the Catholic settlements convention, although scheduled for Chicago, never took place. But from that city more than ten years later a St. Patrick's Society did succeed in calling the Irish Catholic Colonization Convention to meet in St. Paul. Nothing very practical was accomplished, however, until 1878-1879 when Dillon O'Brien and William Onahan, Catholic lay leaders, again joined forces to begin a colonization movement.[68] The new association, organized on a national scale and inspired by such leading churchmen as Bishops Spalding and Ireland, was responsible for many Catholic colonies being settled in the West, particularly in Nebraska and Minnesota. This organization had the blessing of most of the American hierarchy including John Cardinal McCloskey, one time coadjutor to Hughes, then Bishop of Albany and successor to the See of New York on Hughes' death in 1864.[69] It functioned at a more auspicious time since by the 1880's, more than ever before, New York City was simply channeling the Irish immigrant off to the West.[70]

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[66] Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

[67] Skelton, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

[68] William J. Onahan, "A Chapter of Catholic Colonization," *Acta et Dicta*, V (July, 1917), 66-67.

[69] Sister M. Evangela Henthorne, *The Career of Rt. Rev. John Lancaster Spalding, Bishop of Peoria, as President of the Irish Catholic Colonization Association, 1879-1892* (Urbana, 1932), p. 50.

[70] Franklin E. Fitzpatrick, "Irish Immigration into New York from 1860 to 1880," unpublished master's dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1949, p. 60.

Consistent to the end, the *Freeman's Journal,* still under McMaster's control, withheld any enthusiastic support from this later Irish Catholic Colonization Association even though it continued to operate as late as around 1892.[71]

These colonizers of the generation after Archbishop Hughes looked on themselves as the spiritual descendants of Thomas D'Arcy McGee. One who by his thirty years on the missions of the West bridged the gap of years spoke of McGee as "A truly great man, who was badly abused and so little understood." He claimed for him and his clerical supporters a secure place in the opinion of posterity and a complete success for his type of project wherever it had been carried out.[72] John Ireland, great episcopal advocate of landed Catholicism, who was not given to taking half-way positions, wrote on the subject:

> It is today beyond a doubt that had the enlightened views of D'Arcy McGee and those who took part with him in the famous Buffalo colonization convention of 1856 been duly encouraged and pushed to a favorable issue, the Catholic Church would be immensely more prosperous in all the Western States than ever again she can hope to be, and tens of thousands of Catholic families would have gained happy homes and an honorable competence upon the land, instead of having gone down to ruin in the fierce maelstrom of large cities.[73]

Bishop Spalding faced the issue of the precedent set by Archbishop Hughes more directly. In writing of those who deliberately discouraged Catholics from taking part in colonization schemes he remarked, "It is held that in so acting they are but following the example of one of the ablest and most enlightening prelates of the Church in America. I refer of course to Archbishop Hughes . . ."[74] Spalding explained quite correctly that Hughes' known views expressed in

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[71] Sister Mary Augustine Kwitchen, O.S.F., *James Alphonsus McMaster, A Study in American Thought* (Washington, 1949), pp. 212-213. McMaster deprecated the mention of Hughes' former position at this later date, and said once he was certain the former archbishop "would offer no opposition to the plan proposed by Bishop Ireland, even if he hesitated to commit himself to an advocacy of it."

[72] Stephen Byrne, O.S.D., "Irish American Colonies," *Catholic World,* XXXII (December, 1880), 349.

[73] Ireland, *op. cit.,* p. 3. He wrote privately of one of the difficulties that Hughes had highlighted twenty years before, "I am not prepared to advise any man to come West, who would not have after his arrival, a few hundred dollars in hand." Ireland to John H. Campbell, St. Paul, January 16, 1877, in the Reuss Collection of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia.

[74] Spalding, *op. cit.,* p. 145.

1857 had been given off in an impromptu manner and under the influence of strong feelings. He also sought to lessen the force of Hughes' opinions by showing how the Archbishop of New York at the time suspected his authority had been ignored and that some of the members of the Buffalo movement were not to be trusted. The Bishop of Peoria argued that Hughes' real two-pronged objection had been not against going West as such but against settling in groups and making colonies exclusively Irish. The former accusation, he maintained, was irrational while the latter was unfounded. In conclusion Spalding lamented how unfortunate it was that Hughes who had such a powerful influence over the Irish Catholics should have used it to keep them away from the land.[75]

The most recent students of Hughes' position on western colonization, beyond attributing serious consequences to his attitude, have offered some reflections on his motives. Sister Mary Gilbert Kelly emphasized his fear of separation of shepherd and flock as well as his personal animosity for McGee, but she would not go farther in her admission than to say, "Archbishop Hughes was probably sincere in his opposition to western colonization."[76] Wittke combined his ideas significantly when he said, "Clergymen in well-established Eastern parishes, with large churches and schools—some of them still in debt—naturally opposed any movement which would deprive them of membership. Archbishop Hughes of New York was always a vigorous opponent of colonization projects."[77] Hansen, another leading and pioneering authority on American immigration, saw in the Hughes-McGee affair material for a study of "rival racial ambitions."[78] Professor Purcell, who was so well informed on the Irish and Catholic phase of the nation's past, summed it up thus: "Well-intentioned and short of vision, some eastern pastors and prelates, notably Archbishop Hughes of New York, discouraged a westward movement of their people lest there be increased losses of faith."[79]

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[75] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

[76] Kelly, *op .cit.*, p. 268.

[77] Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

[78] Marcus L. Hansen, "The History of American Immigration as a Field for Research," *American Historical Review,* XXXII (April, 1927), 507.

[79] Richard J. Purcell, "The Irish Immigrant, the Famine and the Irish American," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* Fifth Series, LXIX (October, 1947), 863. An earlier opinion by Purcell given in connection with the work of James Shields referred to Hughes as "a bitter and unreasoning opponent." *Op. cit., Studies,* XXI (March, 1937), 82.

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Before trying to reach any other conclusion about Archbishop Hughes and western colonization, it would be well to mark a certain lack of consistency on the question to be found in the archbishop's statements, although he never permitted himself to favor planned group settlements. Nevertheless, at one time, with the thought of escaping Protestant proselytizing of Catholic orphans, he was pondering a plan of communicating, as he said, with "the bishops and priests and good Catholic people of the new portion of our country, what we call here the West." His proposal was to let them take poor children from the eastern archdiocese and "bring them up as Catholics in their new households and in their new farms."[80] Yet when a land scheme in Georgia was brought to his attention, he completely disowned any connection or interest in it, and at that time he even remarked, "Neither have I ever sent or advised to go a single person to settle or occupy those or any other lands, either from New York or elsewhere."[81] No evidence has been found that Hughes was later moved to foster either the vague plan alluded to by Bishop Fitzpatrick as being worked out with a Boston packet-line for helping emigrants, or that his friendship with William H. Seward moved him to co-operate with a western scheme in which Seward was interested to get Irish railroad workers.[82] It is probable that his antipathy to organized movements, and especially to the dangers involved in having priests associated with them and then to have them encounter failure which would reflect on the Church, prevented such co-operation.

The many extant letters of introduction received by Archbishop Hughes from Irish priests and bishops illustrate his great service in having his office act as clearing house in the United States for individual Irish immigrants. Just what influence this service, and the accompanying awareness that America would provide for the spiritual well being of their people had in reassuring the clergy in Ireland and winning their approval of emigration, remains a matter of speculation.[83]

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[80] NYAA, Hughes to [Archbishop Antoine Blanc of New Orleans] (?) New York, October 19, 1857, copy.

[81] Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Hughes to L. B. Northrup, New York, December 19, 1851. Cf. James Bagley Clements, *History of Irwin County* (Atlanta, 1932), pp. 416-417, on the unsuccessful attempt of the Catholic layman, A. H. Brisbane, to build a railroad with imported Irish labor.

[82] NYAA, John Fitzpatrick to Hughes, Boston, May 21, 1858; S. C. Hawly to Seward, St. Louis, July 13, 1853; Seward to Hughes, Auburn, July 26, 1853.

[83] Cf. Oliver MacDonagh, "The Irish Catholic Clergy and Emigration during the Great Famine," *Irish Historical Studies*, V (September, 1947), 301-302.

Moreover, Hughes rejoiced at the extra safeguards and services these immigrants would receive even before leaving the homeland by the presence of a representative of the notably effective Board of Commissioners of Emigration, and this despite the fact that at the same time he said he would "not recommend anyone who can live in Ireland in normally comfortable circumstances to emigrate to America."[84]

Hughes had by 1858 convinced himself that the falling off of immigration in general was a good thing for the Church in New York. His analysis was:

> And whilst it has done much to build up Catholic churches, and form congregations throughout the interior and especially in the West, it has afflicted this city in a remarkable degree. The explanation of this observation will occur to you in considering an obvious fact, which is, that the better class of imigrants [*sic*], those who have some means, those who have industrious habits, robust health, superior intelligence, naturally pass through this city and push onwards in search of localities in which the resources of industrial life are less developed than here. On the other hand, the destitute, the disabled, the broken down, and I had almost added the depraved, of all nations, having reached New York usually settle down here, for want of means, or through want of inclination to go farther.[85]

The blessings of western settlement, on the other hand, was a subject on which Hughes grew most expansive with the advent of the Civil War and his diplomatic mission to France and Rome for the Union government. Northern agents were still seeking out laborers and potential soldiers in Ireland when the American archbishop, on his way home in 1862, gave a famous speech in Cork which in part had all the flavor of Buffalo. With industry and temperance, he told his listeners, the Irish emigrant to the United States would succeed. He went on in praise of his adopted land:

> I know there are in this country what are called plains or prairies, where the cottages of the poor man were, and they are now occupied by the ox and swine. The poor man is not there, but where is he? I can trace him. He is in the west of the United States (cheers), and he is, instead of being the humble cottier afraid of having his cottage taken from him, now the owner of this section of land in America, perhaps of 300 acres or more of

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[84] NYAA, Hughes to Robert Murray, New York, February 23, 1851, copy.

[85] NYAA, Hughes to Bernard Smith, O.S.B., Report for the Congregation of Propaganda, March 23, 1858, copy. Cf. Ernst, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 62 for some justification of this observation.

what was until lately Government land, and the property of the Government; and even lately he was the proprietor of it under the Government protection, allowed to do what he pleased with it. (applause).[86]

After his return to the United States, the archbishop advised Secretary of State Seward to circulate abroad materials to advertise the benefits of settling here. Hughes then revealed for the first time what some of the Catholic papers, notably the *Freeman's,* had given evidence of at the time of the Buffalo convention, namely, a real hostility to peopling British Canada with Irish immigrants.[87] The archbishop thought that such settlers in the Dominion to the north would not last long due to the severe climate, and he stated further:

> Besides this, in their traditional habits of thought, they will further imagine that they have not yet escaped the cold shadow of a government hardly to be pardoned on account of its hostility to their race and to their ancestors and unless they are anchored to the soil of Canada by some foolish purchase of land, they will cut this connection with as little delay as possible and pass over to the United States along the boundary from Montreal to the foot of Lake Superior.[88]

Despite such friendly, and all but forgotten, words in favor of the West, Hughes was never found favoring "directed settlement" in that area. Hence it may be justly concluded that his influence—and by this is meant more his lack of active support than opposition, since conditions were hardly favorable anyway—was an important factor in the failure of Irish colonization projects in the 1850's. His power of leadership over the Irish, particularly in New York, was remarked by friend and foe alike and hence the story of what might have been if he had fostered and given practical direction to the movement, is all the more lamentable.[89] No trace of loyalties that might have led the archbishop to co-operate with interests anxious to keep a concentrated Irish population in the cities, nor of any real fear of indebted churches and institutions has been found. Hughes' motives in the light of the available evidence are hardly open to question. The fear of losses to the faith among a people without priests in the West was apparently too strong to permit him conscientiously to take what would be called today a "calculated risk" such as equally conscientious men like Bishop Loras advised. Furthermore, the archbishop's rivalry with McGee which influenced his mind on the question undoubtedly had its element of pique, but he considered the radical and visionary Irishman even when he conformed to orthodoxy as still given to writings that were "often times mischievous."[90] Perhaps one of his basic principles might help to explain his position vis-à-vis McGee. Orestes Brownson recalled after Hughes' death, and with no intention of taking exception to it, this statement: "I will suffer no man in my diocese that I cannot control. I will either put him down, or he shall put me down."[91]

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[86] Quoted from the *Cork Examiner,* August 1, 1862, in the New York *Metropolitan Record,* August 23, 1862, and found in Kehoe, *op. cit.,* II, 770-775.

[87] E.g., New York *Freeman's Journal,* March 1, 1856: "Do these Canadian gentlemen and their allies in the United States, think they can humbug us or blind us to the perception of the object they have in view?" Six months previously the same paper was defending the American Catholic press in general against the charge of the New York *Daily Times* that like the Irish papers it had been trying to keep the immigrants from coming because of Know-Nothingism, August 11, 1855.

[88] Seward Papers (Auburn, New York), Hughes to Seward, New York, January 8, 1863.

[89] Cf. Maguire, *op. cit.,* p. 431; Max Berger, "The Irish Emigrant and American Nativism," *Dublin Review,* CCIX (October, 1946), 181.

Two aspects of Archbishop Hughes' thought on western colonization for Irish Catholics have not been sufficiently emphasized. His previously unpublished analysis of the Buffalo convention would seem to indicate that he put great stress on the impractical character of the group who assembled there in 1856. Concrete steps were not immediately taken by the delegates, and to the practical ecclesiastical administrator this gave evidence of the sterility which arises from all theory and no practice. Again, the archbishop was opposed to the perpetual Celt or "red-hot Irishism." For example, on one occasion he threatened denunciation of a projected paper called the *Shamrock* which proposed to fight for the rights of Irishmen against the nativists, and during the Civil War he considered Irish and other national brigades as undesirable.[92] He might have been expected, therefore, to frown on the proposed formation of strictly Irish towns and rural colonies in the West. Perhaps he was closer to Orestes Brownson than he actually believed. At least in one instance this convert journalist—who rivaled McGee as a recipient of the prelate's frowns—was to point out to the "Anglo-Americans" that the children of the foreign-born population of the cities would grow up to be native Americans. In very quotable words he predicted what would have pleased the archbishop: "Out from these narrow lanes, blind courts, dirty streets, damp cellars, and suffocating garrets, will come forth some of the noblest sons of our country, whom she will delight to own and to honor."[93]

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[90] Archives of the University of Notre Dame, Hughes to Brownson, New York, August 29, 1856.

[91] "The Most Rev. John Hughes, D.D.," *Brownson's Quarterly Review,* Last Series, II (January, 1874), 84.

[92] NYAA, Hughes to Charlton Potts, New York, May 2, 1846 copy; Smith, *op. cit.,* I, 272-273.

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[93] "A Few Words on Native Americanism," *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, Third Series, II (July, 1854), 354.

THE FRENCH CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS IN THE 1890's: THEIR APPEARANCE AND THEIR FAILURE*

By

ROBERT F. BYRNES

There is no subject in the history of France since the Revolution which is more confusing or more explosive than the relations which have existed between the French Catholics and their government. This is particularly true of the period from 1879 through 1906, when a government for the first time was firmly established on the foundation of the principles enunciated during the Revolution. Moreover, in this period of the Third Republic's history, the tides of opinion and of political tactics shifted so swiftly and frequently that it is often extremely difficult, if not impossible, to assess cause, effect, and responsibility properly. This problem has been made still more difficult by the mass of evidence and of historical studies available, both usually more partisan and prejudiced than the evidence and the scholarship dealing with any section of American history except, perhaps, the Civil War and the New Deal.

The aim of most French Catholics was to obtain a government in France which would give to the Catholic Church increased influence and power within the French educational system and ultimately, therefore, over French public opinion. In their efforts, of course, they were acting as French citizens. They were not representatives of Catholicism as such, and in many cases their philosophies and policies were clearly not based on fundamental Catholic teaching. These French Catholics differed widely as to what form of government France should have, how it should be obtained, and what kind of political and social program it should have once it was established. The differences between the various political groupings which were formed among French Catholics are extremely difficult to establish, in spite of the fury with which they sometimes fought each other. It is only with the very greatest care that rough distinctions can be made between the frequently shifting groups, and even these classifications sometimes collapse during crises. The most convenient, clear, and accurate classification, it seems, is one made according to social and economic views.

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Thus, the extreme conservative Catholics were devoted to a *laissez-faire* social philosophy, tempered by old-fashioned benevolent paternalism. They resented the industrialization of France and the concomitant rise of another layer of the middle class. They were generally also monarchists, although after 1883 monarchism was more a pious hope than a practical program. Politically, they were vehemently opposed to all those whom they considered opponents in any way of the Church, although their views and actions in political affairs generally betrayed little real Christian feeling or understanding.

The Social Catholics did not differ greatly from the Tory Catholics in political views, for their leaders until the early 1890's were convinced monarchists and those Social Catholics who did adopt the Republic then were generally "reluctant Republicans." The Social Catholics, however, did believe in the necessity for and the efficacy of practical social legislation to mend the social system and to keep the workers contented. They recognized the industrialization of France as an established fact which could, perhaps, be directed and controlled by the old ruling classes, but which could certainly not be resisted. They were almost as paternalistic as the Tory or extreme Catholics, but they were also more realistic. Much of the very essence of conservatism at its best can be found in the policies of this group.

The Christian Democrats or Christian Socialists, on the other hand, were not socialists so much as they were democrats, and resolved that the privileged position of special classes, which both of the other groups wanted to preserve, should not be permanent and that the Church should break its alliance with privilege and return to the people and the Republic. This group began to appear and grow in France only during the 1890's, generally a little later than similar developments in other Catholic countries. The Christian Democrats became resolute supporters and critics of the Third Republic. With a program which respected the dignity and rights of the worker, which sought the end of monopolistic abuse and financial corruption, and which hoped to eliminate poverty and misery in France, they were determined to win mass support for their program. Their aim, then, was to give France a government which was Catholic but which was also interested in the rights and welfare of all Frenchmen.

Unfortunately, some of the impetus which propelled the Christian Democratic movement was provided by Edouard Drumont, the renowned anti-Semitic leader. The Christian Democrats suffered heavily from the political and intellectual tradition common to almost all French Catholics in the nineteenth century, as well as from the contemporary confusion between Jewish bankers and merchants and the evils of capitalism, which also plagued the orthodox Socialists. Most French Catholics, shocked by the successful campaign of the anti-clericals in reducing the power of the Church over education in particular, were convinced that the drive against the Church had been led by Freemasons and Jews. The clear evidence of Masonic participation in the attack and the large number of Jews occupying important seats in the government during the 1879-1884 drive, led many Catholics to follow Drumont in his crusade against the opponents of the Church.[1]

Pope Leo XIII by 1890 "had contemplated, like a new Ezekiel, the valley of dry bones of French Royalist politics and had decided that (barring a political miracle) the cause of the most Christian King was as dead as that of the Most Serene Republic of Venice." Viewing the confusion prevalent among French Catholics concerning the republican regime, Leo XIII enunciated again the basic principles which the Catholic Church has always followed. He, therefore, suggested the policy of *ralliement,* which simply recognized that the great majority of the French people had freely accepted the republican form of government and that the Catholic Church should follow its traditional principle of adapting itself to the government in power. This policy would free the Church and French Catholics from the dead body of monarchism in France and would allow the Catholics to exert far more influence upon the government than the hostile attitude thus far followed had permitted. This policy would, if successful, also soften ultimately the very strong anti-clericalism of the French Radicals and Socialists and would lead to the establishment of a more firm foundation for the Third Republic.

Leo XIII proposed, but the French themselves, alas, disposed.

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[1] Georges Weill, *Histoire du mouvement social en France, 1852-1914* (Paris, 1924), pp. 409-424, has probably the clearest brief account of the ramifications of Catholic social views.

Ralliement was crippled throughout the 1890's by the refusal or grumbling reluctance of many Catholic leaders to accept Leo XIII's suggestion, which could be only a suggestion since the Pope could not and would not prescribe a political policy for the Catholics of France. The extreme conservative Catholics generally refused even to consider *ralliement* seriously, while the Social Catholics divided over the issue, those who did accept the Republic not being enthusiastic or, perhaps, even sincere. The Christian Democrats accepted the policy and the Republic with vigor and with some conviction. However, even this group collapsed by 1900, due largely to its ignorance and prejudices, the distrust of it by the Republicans, the lack of interest shown in it by most Catholics, the enmity of the powerful and articulate Catholic right, and the impact of the Dreyfus Affair, which destroyed completely the wise Pope's excellent program.[2]

The Christian Democratic movement was largely the clever alliance of Drumont's anti-Semitism and "Socialist" ideas with the realizations that the Third Republic was firmly established, that the workers were Republican, and that it was the duty of the Church and her priests to wean the workers from revolutionary socialism with a Catholic program of social reform. The leaders of this movement were in great part sincere young Catholic priests and journalists, strongly influenced by Drumont and his ideas and very eager to ally the Church with the people in a powerful social party. They were a great source of alarm to the conservative Catholics, for their newspapers and congresses paid little respect to privilege or propertied interests and advocated a real Catholic social democracy.

When the Christian democratic movement first began around 1890, the social and economic ideas of many of the Christian Democrats were hardly more radical than those of many of the Social Catholics. However, no Christian Democrats were monarchists, and by 1893 or 1894 the distinctions between the economic and social views of the groups were becoming clear. The two movements were closely connected during the early 1890's, nevertheless, and there was a rather important group of Catholics who sought to unite them. Léon Harmel, a very prominent Catholic manufacturer who practiced the principles of the Social Catholics in his factories, was president of the Social Catholics' Association of Catholic Workers' Clubs at the same time that he was honorary chairman of the Christian Democratic organization. Efforts such as those of Harmel failed, however, and the Christian Democratic movement by 1895 was obviously becoming more republican and radical, thus defining more specifically the division of the Catholic groups.[3]

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[2] Dominique Cardinal Ferrata, *Mémoires. Ma nonciature en France* (Paris, 1922), *passim,* especially pp. 11-31, 66-77, 81-148, 204-255; Antonin Debidour, *L'Eglise catholique et l'Etat sous la troisième république, 1870-1906* (Paris, 1906-1909), II, 1-78; Waldemar Gurian, *Die politischen und sozialen Ideen des französischen Katholizimus, 1789-1914* (Munich, 1928), pp. 239-294; Denis W. Brogan, *The Development of Modern France* (London, 1940), pp. 257-267.

The genesis of the Christian Democratic movement in France can, perhaps, be described through an account of the activities and the ideas of four able young Catholic priests, all born between 1856 and 1859 and all convinced by 1890 that the Catholic Church had to accept the Republic and political democracy and to promote social reform in France, and this at the expense of the old ruling classes, if it were to continue to thrive. All came from different parts of France, but all were in agreement even before they met on the fundamental attitudes Catholics should have on the principal political and social problems of the day. All believed also that the newspaper was the best means of influencing the worker and the peasant and of attaining their aims. Anti-Semitism was an element in the philosophy of each of these young priests, in some cases a very important one. However, it is likely that but for the tremendous prestige of Drumont among those Catholics who were critical of the lack of social progress being made in France and for the unwise decision to invite Drumont and his personal followers to the first Christian Democratic congress in 1896, these Christian Democrats and the entire movement might ultimately have overcome and rejected this basically un-Christian doctrine.

The first of these talented young priests was Father Paul Fesch, born in 1858 in Clermont, about forty miles directly north of Paris. As a young priest, Father Fesch in his sermons and in anonymous columns he wrote for local newspapers demonstrated an understanding of the position of the workers in French society which irritated and disturbed his more conservative parishioners and readers. His first publication was a small book, *De l'ouvrier et du respect,* which appeared in 1888 and the second edition of which had a preface by Drumont. This won praise from such diverse sources as the Catholic *Réforme Sociale* and the *Revue Socialiste.* Fesch's sermons and writings won such attention in northern France that in 1889 the *Journal de l'Oise,* a conservative paper in Beauvais, invited him to join its staff. His columns there were so successful that in 1891 Joseph M. Péronne, Bishop of Beauvais, invited him to establish a new paper to advance the social views of Pope Leo XIII and to participate in the establishment of a trade school in Beauvais. The publication of this weekly newspaper gave Fesch an opportunity to define and to promote his ideas, and it also educated him in the difficulties facing a Catholic who accepted political democracy and advanced a social reform program.

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[3] Edouard Lecanuet, *La vie de l'église sous Léon XIII* (Paris, 1930), pp. 610-620; Parker T. Moon, *The Labor Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France* (New York, 1921), pp. 175, 365-367, 445; Weill, *op. cit.*, pp. 415-424.

Buffeted by the conservatives on the right as a priest who was trying to reconcile the Revolution and Christianity and by the Republicans and Socialists on the left as a priest in politics and a concrete example of the great danger of clericalism, Fesch was able to maintain his newspaper for only a year before it crumbled under these attacks. He joined the *Croix* organization then, but his views were too radical also for that conservative, anti-Republican newspaper system. By 1893 Fesch had advanced from a general Socialist Catholic position to that of a Christian Democrat. He was an open advocate of Pope Leo XIII's policy of *ralliement* and a frequent speaker before workers' groups on the need for social legislation. In 1894, he came to Paris and became editor of the old Boulangist paper, *La Cocarde,* which had then only twenty-five subscribers. He failed to revive this newspaper, just as Maurice Barrès did after him. His final attempt to promote Christian Democracy was made with Father Paul Naudet on the *Monde,* and after this ill-fated venture he abandoned his efforts in 1896 and became a traveller and a bibliographer of Freemasonry, preferring to fight the enemies of Catholicism in that much easier way.[4]

Father Hippolyte Gayraud came from southwestern France, for he was born in a tiny village in Tarn-et-Garonne in 1856 and became a

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[4] Paul Fesch, *De l'ouvrier et du respect* (Paris, 1888), pp. 6-35, 110-137; Fesch, *Dossiers maçonniques* (Paris, 1905); Fesch, *Les souvenirs d'un abbé journaliste* (Paris, 1898), pp. 28-216; Eugène Ledos, *Joseph Denais, écrivain et journaliste angevin* (Angers, 1920), pp. 167-168, 193; Lecanuet, *op. cit.,* pp. 235-238; Debidour, *op. cit.,* II, 85-86, 151-152.

Dominican friar in 1877. From 1887 until 1893, Gayraud was professor of scholastic theology at the Catholic Institute of Toulouse, but in 1893, dissatisfied with the life as a Dominican professor in a provincial city, he became a diocesan priest and went to Paris. A remarkably able orator and a very capable politician, Gayraud apparently never acquired the understanding of social problems characteristic of many of his colleagues in the Christian Democratic movement, but he accepted wholeheartedly the Third Republic and political democracy. He was one of the most avid opponents of the Catholic monarchists, and he was bitterly denounced by all conservatives as a traitor. Elected to the Chamber of Deputies from Brest in 1897 in a bitterly fought contest with a royalist, Count de Blois, Gayraud was re-elected in 1898 and 1902 over the furious protests of such conservative organs as *La Croix, Vérité Française,* and *Autorité.*

It is very apparent from Gayraud's actions in the Chamber of Deputies that he represented Catholic interests, but he spoke even in 1905 and 1906 for reconciliation between the Church and the Republic. He was suspected by all anti-clericals as well as by conservative Catholics. He was one of the leading organizers of the Christian Democratic congresses from 1896 through 1900, and he was the president of the 1898 congress. His statement at the congress that the Christian Democratic Party was not a purely Catholic party but "can, and must, include all those who call themselves Christians, whatever be their confession or profession of faith" was considered a clear proof of betrayal of the Catholic Church by his enemies among the Catholics. He was generally considered responsible for the adoption by the Christian Democrats in 1897 of the decision to unite with all Republicans of all shades against any conservative who opposed the Republic.

Father Gayraud was one of the most vigorous anti-Semites in the Christian Democratic movement. He was an advocate of what he called "Christian anti-Semitism," and he tried to distinguish this brand of attack upon the Jews from "the fanatical commercial anti-Semitism of the jealous few." Declaring that "a convinced Christian is by nature a practicing anti-Semite," he asserted that "the Jew is the enemy of Christ and of Christian France." At the first congress of the Christian Democrats in Lyon in 1896, he cried out that the Catholic Church had always been anti-Semitic "on a high moral plane" and that "all social excrement, especially the Jews," should be expelled from France. Gayraud's anti-Semitism and his neglect and ignorance of social issues help to explain the complete debacle of the

Christian Democratic movement in France as he rose in power in it, for the movement as a whole had a strong social purpose and was not so deeply scarred with hatred of the Jews as was this militant priest.[5]

Father Paul Naudet was born in Bordeaux in 1859 and served as a professor in a seminary near that city after his ordination in 1883. He became a staunch Republican and defender of republican institutions, although the anti-Masonic campaign of the 1880's and Drumont's writings made him an anti-Semite. His attack upon the Jews was based on their economic power in France, which he felt was excessive and dangerous. Naudet was never a rabid anti-Semite, however, and in the Dreyfus Affair his colleagues were disappointed by his lack of vehemence as an anti-Dreyfusard. As a matter of fact, Naudet's newspaper, *Justice Sociale,* was the first Catholic newspaper to publish letters favorable to Dreyfus, and it also became an instrument for the Catholic Committee for the Defense of Justice.

While a supporter of the Republic and an advocate of extensive social reform, Naudet was an eager opponent of socialism. His first public address was delivered in 1891 in a working class suburb of Bordeaux on the connection which should exist between the priest and the worker. A handsome man and an excellent orator, Naudet debated successfully on a number of occasions with Jules Guesde and other Socialists. His speeches were so successful that he soon received invitations to address groups of workers, largely Catholic, all over France. In July, 1893, he founded a newspaper, *Justice Sociale,* in Bordeaux to carry the message of Leo XIII's *Rerum novarum* to the workers. In this newspaper and in the addresses he delivered during the second half of 1893, he formulated clearly for the first time in France the Christian Democratic doctrine. After he had developed this program he moved the paper to Paris in January, 1894, and rapidly became one of the most influential priests and journalists in the capital. *Justice Sociale* remained one of the principal organs of French Catholic social thought from 1893 until 1908, when it foundered during the crisis over modernism.

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[5] Julien Cordier, *Deux ans de polémique, 1896-1897* (Nancy, 1898), pp. 218-221, 325-329, 347-350; *Congrès nationale de la démocratie chrétienne, 1896* (Lyon, 1897), pp. 68-73, 78; Henri Delassus, *La démocratie chrétienne, parti et école* (pamphlet) (Paris, 1911), pp. 14-16; C. E. Curinier (ed.), *Dictionnaire national des contemporains* (Paris, 1899-1905), IV, 335; Hippolyte Gayraud, *Les démocrates chrétiens* (Paris, 1899), pp. 7-9; Lecanuet, *op. cit.,* pp. 99-105; Debidour, *op. cit.,* II, 152, 259, 274, 284 346, 403, 455.

In October, 1894, Naudet was named editor of the *Monde,* which had then only 2,500 subscribers. His success in almost doubling the circulation within a few months, as well as the collapse of this newspaper in July, 1896, are alike tributes to his ability as a journalist and to his honesty and perseverance as a believer in the Third Republic and in the need for social change. The principal issue over which the *Monde* failed was the tax on the property of religious orders passed in March, 1895. This was fought before passage and resisted after passage by the conservative Catholics, while Naudet denounced the Right for the attitude towards the legislation of the Republic which these actions demonstrated. This stand, in addition to Naudet's advocacy of seminary reform, praise of the more democratic American Catholic laity and clergy, and promotion of social legislation, effectively destroyed the *Monde.* Father Fesch, the city editor of this newspaper, became so disillusioned over the stubbornness, stupidity, and power of the French Right that he abandoned the Christian Democratic movement at that time, but Naudet became a more ardent Christian Democrat.[6]

Father Jean Garnier was born in Normandy in 1858. As a young priest in Caen he organized young peoples' clubs and pilgrimages to Rome. A convinced opponent of Freemasonry, he joined the *Croix* system and became one of the great organizers who made that newspaper chain so influential in France in the 1890's. A very large and powerful man, Garnier "did not go to the people, but joined them." A good speaker as well as an excellent administrator, he frequently attended meetings of the Socialists and anarchists to denounce them from the floor. Thus, Aristide Briand, then a revolutionary syndicalist, encountered Garnier before the dock workers of Saint-Nazaire on May 28, 1890, Garnier denouncing the Jews and Briand ascribing persecution of the Jews throughout history to the Catholic Church. Much of the anti-Semitism of the Christian Democratic movement derives from Garnier. It is apparent that he became an anti-Semite through the anti-Masonic campaign which was at its height while he was in the seminary.

In 1892 this Norman priest founded the *Union Nationale,* the first popular organization established by the Catholic Republicans. This

[6] Robert Cornilleau, *L'abbé Naudet* (Paris, 1934), pp. 9-63, 73-98, 144; Léon Chaine, *Les catholiques français et leurs difficultés actuelles devant l'opinion* (Lyon, 1908), pp. 297-298; Naudet, *op. cit.,* pp. 269-270.

nationalistic and Catholic institution was founded "to return the masses to religion and to give France peace and happiness through a Christian regeneration." It sought complete freedom for the Catholic Church in France, protection "against usury and high finance," protection against "foreigners," and proportional representation of minorities. This organization grew slowly until 1895, but during those first three years it became more nationalistic and more interested in promoting social legislation. Garnier sponsored workers' co-operatives and advocated a vague kind of socialism. In an address delivered at the publishing company of Alfred Mame in Tours, he declared, "Socialism is the future, and we must become Socialists in order to dominate the future." Since the *Croix* was alarmed by his interest in socialism, he abandoned that newspaper and in 1894 established a weekly of his own, *Le Peuple Français,* as "the journal of Christian Democracy and the organ of the *Union Nationale.*" Within a year or two, Garnier was an open opponent of the conservative *Croix,* although during the Dreyfus Affair both the *Peuple Français* and *Croix* were anti-Dreyfusard.

In 1895 the *Union Nationale* was transformed into an electoral league under the banner "Religion, Family, Property, and Country." During the crisis years it opposed all "liberal and foreign" candidates for the Chamber of Deputies, and Garnier used the organization particularly as a weapon against the Jews, Freemasons, and Socialists. There were 3,100 members in Lyon in 1896 and one quarter alone in Paris then had more than 4,000 members. The organization, especially in the larger cities, provided employment offices, clinics, and savings banks for its members, and Garnier's hope was to transform the *Union Nationale* into the foundation of a Catholic political party to follow the pattern set by Windthorst's Center Party in Germany. These political ambitions dragged the Christian Democratic movement directly into French political strife from 1898 through 1900 against the wishes of most of its founders, and the resultant confusion and failure contributed heavily to the complete collapse of the Christian Democratic movement in France.[7]

[7] Georges Suarez, *Briand. Sa Vie, son oeuvre* (Paris, 1938-1941), I, 85; Salomon Reinach (L'Archiviste, *pseud.*), *Drumont et Dreyfus. Etudes sur la Libre Parole de 1894 à 1895* (Paris, 1898), pp. 19-20; Augustin Hamon and Georges Bachot, *La France politique et sociale, 1890* (Paris, 1891), II, 4-5; *Congrès nationale,* pp. 52-56, 218-247; Lecanuet, *op. cit.,* pp. 239-240; Debidour,

The Christian Democratic movement in France reached its peak in its first congress held in Lyon during the last week of November, 1896. Widely advertised, bitterly attacked by the Socialists and the conservatives alike, and a cause of much friction among the clergy, this congress attracted 6,000 representatives of anti-Semitic clubs, Father Garnier's *Union Nationale,* separate Christian Democratic groups, and associations formed by individual newspapers throughout France. It lasted a week and it benefited enormously from the fact that so many of the members were journalists. In many ways it represented the summit of success for all organized anti-Semitism as well as for the Christian Democratic movement. A study of this congress will illustrate the program of Christian Democracy in France, the qualities characteristic of the Christian Democrats and of many of the other anti-Semites, and some of the reasons for the failure within less than five years of the entire Christian Democratic campaign.

One of the outstanding Christian Democratic leaders was a wealthy young church organist, François Mouthon, who left law school to found a weekly newspaper in Lyon in 1890. This publication benefited from the fact that Lyon at that time had only one newspaper which conservatives and Catholics enjoyed, and after two successful years Mouthon was able to transform his newspaper into a daily. *France libre,* or the "Catholic Youths' Anti-Jewish and Anti-Masonic Newspaper" had as its standard, "France for the French: Christ and Liberty." In July of 1893, after Drumont had been defeated in his campaign for election to the Chamber of Deputies from Amiens, Mouthon staged a banquet for him in Lyon to provide publicity for the new paper. Just as he had borrowed the first half of his slogan from Drumont, so he also borrowed Drumont's anti-Semitism and vague ideas concerning the need for social change in France.

As a consequence Mouthon joined the young Christian Democratic movement and soon was at its head in the Lyon area. He used *France libre,* described in 1897 by the editor of the *Annuaire de la presse française* as "one of the greatest democratic papers in France," as the core of a formidable organization which soon extended throughout southeastern France. Aided by Victor Berne, a more able organizer than he, Mouthon established a system of study clubs, youth

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op. cit., II, 152; Henri Avenel, *Annuaire de la presse française,* XVII (1896), 165; XVIII (1897), 163; *Libre Parole Illustrée,* March 12, March 21, September 26, 1896; February 4, April 17, 1898.

leagues, and electoral groupings which carried the seeds of Christian Democracy throughout the entire area. This network was very effectively tied together by Mouthon's system of sending skilled speakers and organizers from Lyon and by arranging occasional meetings in Lyon of representatives from groups throughout the area. A congress late in 1895 attracted 2,000 people and was so successful that Mouthon decided to arrange for a national congress of the Christian Democrats for November.[8]

The difficulties facing Mouthon early in 1896 are similar to that facing the historian today, for there was no national Christian Democratic organization, no clear formulation of policy or doctrine, and no simple method of determining who the Christian Democrats were. As a consequence, Mouthon decided that the congress, "although highly Catholic and Republican," should make an appeal to "all men of good will who wish to join in the common aim of national liberation." The convention was described officially as "less a fusion than a federation of movements and ideas of all those who for Christ, the People, and Liberty work for the triumph of real democracy." The congress was, therefore, really not a national congress of the Christian Democrats, for there was no agreement on policy or organization either before or after it had met. It was a collection of representatives of many groups, all Catholic and all critical of the French social system, but not in general agreement as to the political and economic policies which should be adopted to remedy the deficiencies they witnessed. In other words, like other similar movements in modern history, Christian Democracy in France was more certain of what it opposed than of what it proposed.

Thus, one day of the congress was set aside for Father Garnier's *Union Nationale;* another day was provided for the Catholic press, regardless of the political and economic views of the newspapers represented; a third day was devoted to a study of anti-Semitism, two days to "social reform," another day to Freemasonry. La Tour du Pin, certainly not a Christian Democrat, sent a delegation and had a speech read. There were representatives from such diverse organizations as the Young Catholics' Club of Marseille, the Paris chapter of the National Students' Anti-Semitic League, the Poitevin Anti-Semitic League of Small Businessmen, and the Lille Catholic Workers' Club.

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[8] François Mouthon, *Du bluff au chantage. Les grandes campagnes du Matin* (Paris, 1908), preface, v; Edouard Drumont, *Nos maîtres, la tyrannie maçonnique* (Paris, 1899), pp. 134-136; Albert Houlin, *La crise,* quoted by Chaine, *op. cit.,* pp. 619-621; Lecanuet, *op. cit.,* p. 245; *Libre Parole Illustrée,* July 22, 1893; August 8-August 29, 1896; February 13, 1897; Avenel, *Annuaire de la presse française,* XVIII (1897), 592.

A study of the 300-page report published by Mouthon two months after this first congress of the Christian Democrats describes in detail the ideas and attitudes of the groups represented at that crucial meeting. The congress met in plenary session every morning, afternoon, and evening to hear long talks by priests, editors, journalists, and occasionally workers or industrialists. There were no clear debates and no committee meetings to define issues or policies. The representatives returned to their homes after a flooded week of talk with no national organization and no clearly defined policies.

Thus, there were ten speeches on the day devoted to Freemasonry, all of which reiterated the old charges concerning the power and the internationalism of "the evil order." The conclusion reached at the end of all of the oratory was that Freemasonry should be countered by propaganda, that this propaganda should always be documented, and that the order should be fought by electoral action "in every way possible." No organization was established, not positive concrete philosophy was defined and adopted, and nothing was added to the entire campaign which had not already been discussed at length since 1865.

The day devoted to anti-Semitism was just as barren. In this case there were twenty speeches, the principal one, of course, by Drumont. The old complaints concerning Jewish political and economic power were raised, and the catalogue of charges concerning the ways in which this power was used was summarized again. Gayraud asserted that "the Christian life in itself spreads an effective anti-Semitism," but that "some repressive laws are needed too." Drumont in a wildly applauded speech told his 6,000 listeners that the French Revolution should be revised "for Liberty and Christ," if necessary by the same methods which the Revolution adopted towards "the glorious aristocrats." After the Jews in France had been assigned responsibility for all of the political and economic disasters in the Third Republic's history, the assembly resolved:

1. The legislation emancipating the Jews in France and in Algeria should be cancelled.
2. The Jews should be prohibited from all posts in education, the civil service, and the armed forces.

3. All Catholic and patriotic newspapers should support Drumont's campaign.
4. The laws on limited stock companies and on monopolies should be revised.
5. No Jews should be allowed to supply the army.

The obvious vagueness and indecisiveness of the sessions devoted to Freemasonry and the Jews were evident also in those dealing with the Catholic press and the *Union Nationale.* One hundred journalists on the final day of the congress, when most of those attending had already left, agreed to the following program, of which not one item was ever put into effect:

1. The Catholic press should not quarrel, and a jury of Catholic journalists should be elected to resolve any disputes which might arise.
2. A permanent committee of leading Catholics should be elected to form a common anti-Semitic, anti-Masonic, and social program for the Catholic press.
3. An investigation should be made of the possibility of founding a Catholic News Agency.
4. A professional association of Catholic journalists should be formed.

The *Union Nationale* meetings demonstrated the most thorough preparation because Garnier was in complete charge of that day's arrangements. However, even here there was neither dynamism nor system. Garnier proposed to unite "all men of good will" under the slogan, "Religion, Family, Property, Country." Most of the session was devoted to the history of the movement and to a description of the most effective local chapters. There was a toast to "the union of the workers and the bourgeoisie," and there was much talk of organizing locally to defeat Freemasons in elections. However, there was no political or social program, and it was agreed finally that the *Union Nationale* chapters should correspond and co-operate but that there should be no central organization or control.

The sessions most important for the future of the Christian Democratic Party and most revealing to the modern student were those which dealt with "social reform." Anti-Semitism and Catholicism had served very effectively to draw the movement and the congress together, but Christian Democracy needed to devise some positive and workable political and economic policies to knit the varied groups together more closely and to attract other elements of French society.

This the movement did not succeed in accomplishing. Lueger at the same time in Austria was conquering with a combination of Catholicism and "city Socialism." The French Christian Democrats borrowed the conception of a political and social party from their Austrian and German friends, but they did not succeed in cementing the groups they collected even briefly with a concrete program.

Mouthon's preface to the report on this first congress declared that the meeting proved that "the new generation of conservatives" was lively, confident, and willing to accept the Republic and social change. He did admit that some Catholics were in clear opposition to the movement and that the conservative press in general had either deliberately ignored or violently denounced the congress. However, he felt confident that the great mass of French conservatives were enlightened to such a degree that they would support eagerly this movement and the economic reforms it proposed.

There was some opposition within the congress itself to Mouthon's insistence that Christian Democracy was a party of conservatives. Jules Delahaye on the second day devoted part of a speech to a heavy attack upon the conservatives for supporting any government which kept the country quiet and for opposing any individual or group which proposed changes which might reduce their income slightly. His attack upon conservative opportunism was followed by Xavier de Magellon's praise of anti-Semitism for "seizing the throats of the all-powerful millionaires" and thus allying itself with Christian Democracy. Both of these speakers justified Drumont's denunciation of the Right and declared that the Christian Democrats would have to establish a party of real social reform or the entire movement would collapse.

However, the sessions devoted to social problems indicate that the "socialist" element in Christian Democracy in France was negligible and that the reforms proposed in this congress were very mild indeed, much milder than many of the anti-Semites had been demanding during the preceding decade. Most of the speeches during these meetings were devoted to lamentations concerning the demoralizing effect of factory labor upon morals and upon the family, praise of Catholic workers' clubs, trade unions, and co-operatives, and ringing declarations that social reform was necessary.

A brief summary of the three speeches which attracted most interest in these sessions will help to demonstrate how vague were the ideas and, perhaps, how insincere the interest in social reform among the

Christian Democrats in 1896. Thellier de Poncheville, for example, declared that the Catholics had to organize, accept the Third Republic, and develop a social program if they hoped to avoid becoming "émigrés inside France." He declared that no one should be driven out of France or deprived of his liberty, and he shouted that "only a social program will acquire votes and political power for us in this democracy." However, the "social reforms" he enumerated consisted of political and economic decentralization, universal suffrage, minority representation, and a kind of corporatism. These were to be acquired through "private initiative, association, and law."

Father Naudet's address, "The Right to Life," was a stirring impeachment of contemporary capitalism for the poverty, misery, and degradation it bred. He asserted that "politics is not enough" and that the Christian Democrats should co-operate in the future with the Socialists to eliminate unemployment and charity and to provide everyone in France with the right to live and the right to develop his abilities. His picture of the misfortunes of the poor and unfortunate drew praise even from the Socialists, but the only concrete suggestions Naudet made were for shorter hours, Sunday holidays, and an end to the employment of women.

The third of these addresses by Father Lemire, a deputy, was even more remarkable. Lemire attacked industrialism as well as capitalism, which he declared was based upon a "pagan notion of property," and he asserted that France must return to "Small Property." "The land and the hearth" alone can preserve the country and civilization, he announced, and he defined the role of any Catholic party to be that of urging the distribution of land in France. He proposed that every family in France should have a house and a small plot of land, both tax-free, that primogeniture be established by law, that factory hours be restricted to eleven a day and sixty a week, that credit be provided for workers and peasants at three percent or less, that the government provide national health service, that capitalists construct low-cost housing, and that work be assured to all "if at all possible" by trade union or state intervention. He did not indicate, however, how capitalists were to be persuaded to invest in low-cost housing, how each family in France could be provided at least with a garden, or how the state or the unions could guarantee the right to work. Nevertheless, this speech by the young, intelligent priest received a tremendous ovation from a crowd of 8,000, the largest session in the entire congress.

The social reform program approved at the close of these sessions was neither so vague nor so impractical as the suggestions made by the speakers. However, these proposals are proof that Mouthon was correct in describing the Christian Democratic Party as conservative. The principal suggestions in this statement were the protection of small business, the abolition of night work and employment of women, a ten-hour day and a six-day week, the establishment under state law of insurance and pension systems, the formation of committees including both workers and employees to study labor problems, and the election of regional parliaments to represent agriculture and industry. In addition all Catholics were urged to unite in one political party, presumably the Christian Democratic Party, and representation of professional interests in Parliament was supported. The program adopted by the second congress in 1897 added the progressive income tax, laws on "speculation and usury," the referendum, and a clearer statement concerning corporatism.[9]

The nature of the social program which the Christian Democrats developed in 1896 was, of course, one of the principal reasons the movement collapsed so quickly. The movement contained so many diverse social groups that no attainable positive platform which would attract mass support from the conservative, Republican, or Socialist parties was or could be devised. The Christian Democratic Party failed because it was bound together only by Catholicism and anti-Semitism, both ordinarily strong cohesive forces, but even together in this instance unable to counter the effect of the centrifugal forces. The pressure which destroyed the movement came from the Right, for the extreme conservatives were shocked and terrified to see Catholics, including large numbers of priests, join a movement which accepted "the slut" and which on occasion called itself Christian Socialist, even though it was in no sense a Socialist party.

This conservative opposition was ably and vigorously—even viciously—led by *Autorité* and *Vérité française* in Paris and by such provincial journals as the *Semaine religieuse de Cambrai,* edited by Father Henri Delassus, himself an anti-Semite but a very conservative one. Aroused by the political and social ideas of the Christian Democrats, alarmed by the tolerance shown towards other Christian religions, and seeing in a priest such as Father Naudet or Father Gayraud another potential Lamennais, they used every means to discredit and smash the movement. They were aided in their designs by the strong participation in the movement of hundreds of Catholic priests and by the foolish decision of Berne and Mouthon to invite Drumont and some of his more rowdy comrades to the first congress.

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[9] *Congrès nationale,* pp. 33-93, 98-247, 277-306; Cornilleau, *op. cit.,* pp. 105-107; *Libre Parole Illustrée,* October 24-December 12, 1896; *Univers,* November 1-December 10, 1896.

It is evident from a variety of sources that many Catholic priests in the 1890's were developing political and social ideas of their own and, in some cases, entering politics advocating political and economic changes for France. This had happened often before, of course, but there was a great fear lest another Lamennais appear, particularly since most of the young priests who were becoming politically-minded proposed ideas which were considered radical and even revolutionary by their elders, especially those in the hierarchy. This development seemed particularly ominous in 1896 when Father Lemire and Father Dabry sought to organize a national federation of priests.

Lemire addressed an ecclesiastical congress of about 1,000 priests at Reims in August, 1896, advancing approximately the same program he developed in Lyon in November and suggesting, too, that the young priests organize and hold annual congresses. Dabry, his associate, indicated he wished to free the priest politically from the hierarchy and he even declared: "The altar constructed in the style of the seventeenth century is destined to follow the throne. The entire edifice must be rebuilt and put into harmony with our rising generation." About 700 priests attended the November Christian Democratic congress, most of them priests who had also been in Reims in August. This caused great dissatisfaction and alarm and some bishops by the fall of 1896 were seeking a means by which they might reasonably and without criticism forbid their priests to participate in the Christian Democratic movement.

The Christian Democrats escaped trouble before the first congress by adopting a technique familiar then to all Catholic authors and administrators, that of obtaining a letter of approval from the Pope or someone close to him and securing support from other dignitaries of the Church. Thus, Mariano Cardinal Rampolla, papal Secretary of State, sent a brief note to Mouthon accepting the homage offered to Leo XIII, giving the first congress the Pope's blessing, and wishing him success. François X. Gouthe-Soulard, Archbishop of Aix-en-Provence, François N. Rovérié de Cabrières, Bishop of Montpellier, and Amando Fava, Bishop of Grenoble, all familiar with Mouthon's attacks upon Freemasonry and the Jews, also sent their blessings.

As a consequence, it was difficult for critics in the hierarchy to forbid priests to attend the meetings. However, Pierre Cardinal Couillé, Archbishop of Lyon, declined the honorary presidency of the congress and warned the sponsors tactfully by asserting, "Anti-Semitism is derived from a just idea and it promotes fundamentally a legitimate and even necessary crusade, but it has adopted an attitude, language, and methods which prohibit an ecclesiastic from compromising with it." After Cardinal Couillé had refused, Drumont was offered the honorary presidency, and he and his closest friends and followers from Paris dominated the congress, which led to its several embarrassing episodes and contributed to the subsequent failure of the entire movement.

The difficulties of the congress began the very first day on which a meeting was held. The *Nouvelliste de Lyon,* a conservative paper, heralded the beginning of the convention with a violent attack. When the Lyon police confiscated the convention's flag, Clovis Hugues, a close friend of Drumont from Paris and a well-known Socialist poet and deputy, led a noisy demonstration of 1,200 to the *France libre* offices. This led to a clash with the police and the arrest of fourteen of the demonstrators, leaving the conservative press to chortle gleefully at the correctness of their charges.

On the second day, Jules Delahaye, a former deputy and another close friend of Drumont, in the course of an anti-Semitic harangue turned to denounce the conservatives. During his attack, as he sought to explain the earlier feebleness of the anti-Semitic movement, he attacked the concordat, the "subservient and opportunistic" French episcopacy, and the papal nuncio, Archbishop Domenico Ferrata, the latter for his co-operation with the French hierarchy against what Delahaye declared to be the great majority of the French clergy. Jules Guérin, in 1896 Drumont's first lieutenant and the organizer during the Dreyfus Affair of primitive storm troop formations, on the fourth day irritated even the members of the congress by his brutal and rude interruption of another speaker, Thellier de Poncheville. When the latter made a plea for equal rights for all residents in France, Guérin interfered by asking whether any Jewish workers in the convention hall would help him to hang Rothschild. The assembly was stunned and there was a flood of protests. Guérin protested feebly that he had meant his remark as a joke, but many Christian Democrats began to realize that all of these incidents revealed a side to anti-Semitism which they had not yet appreciated.[10]

Drumont himself contributed seriously to the approaching debacle by attacking Cardinal Couillé indirectly in his opening address for refusing to accept the honorary presidency. When a Christian Democratic priest gave Mouthon for publication in *France libre* a confidential letter the cardinal had sent to all of the clergy in the Archdiocese of Lyon protesting against Delahaye's attack upon the Concordat, both Drumont and the cardinal became angry, the former at what he considered a clear case of interference on the part of the prelate and the latter because Mouthon had published a confidential letter. These incidents, plus the remarks concerning social reform, alarmed the conservative cardinal so much that after the congress had disbanded he urged all of the priests in his archdiocese to abandon Christian Democracy and to cease reading *France libre*. Mouthon's subsequent violent editorials against Couillé drove many of his subscribers away, weakening seriously the entire movement. Less than half as many priests attended the second convention in 1897. When Mouthon denounced the cardinal and the episcopacy for this during 1898 Couillé forbade the clergy to read *France libre*.

The 1897 congress was almost as well attended as the original convention, but it presented less interest because the charges made against the Jews and Freemasons were identical with those of a year earlier and no advance had been made in organization or policy. Mouthon sought desperately throughout the first eight months of 1898, during the Dreyfus controversy, to rouse the movement. He advocated making the 1898 congress international, but his advisers pointed out to him that that would weaken the nationalist base of the charges made against the Jews and Masons. He sought also to acquire the support of the Third Order of St. Francis, but that effort likewise failed. He considered then inviting all French Protestants to join the campaign, but the anti-Protestant bias of the anti-Semitic campaign led to the rejection of that idea as well. As a consequence, Mouthon by the fall of 1898 was a defeated man. His fortune dissipated, his hopes destroyed, his paper now a powerless, small voice in Lyon alone, he surrendered completely. *France libre* went into bankruptcy, dragging with it the entire Christian Democratic movement in southeastern

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[10] *Congrès nationale,* pp. 6-25, 95-97, 214-215; Lecanuet, *op. cit.*, pp. 626-650; Debidour, *op. cit.*, II, 155.

France. Mouthon, unable because of the violence with which he had expressed his views to acquire a position with a Catholic newspaper, went to Paris and joined the staff of an anti-clerical journal.

Christian Democracy thereafter fell into the hands of Garnier, the *Union Nationale,* and the politicians who sought to use the movement as a means of winning election to the Chamber of Deputies. Except for Garnier, all of the leaders in the 1898 congress were men who had earlier been deputies as Bonapartists or Boulangists, or men who were to use the Christian Democratic forces and the Dreyfus Affair tension to acquire brief notoriety in the Chamber. The 1898 congress was attended by only 1,500 and the movement disappeared completely after the fifth congress in Paris on July 14, 1900.

Thus, Christian Democracy in France was a dismal failure in the 1890's. The causes for this disaster were numerous. One of the most important was its failure to attract either the Catholic masses or the Republican voters who at the time instead supported the Radical Republicans or the Socialists. Most Catholics clearly repudiated the Christian Democrats, either because their social and political program seemed too radical or their anti-Semitism offended their religious beliefs. However, the decisive cause for the failure was the absence of a true understanding and appreciation of political and social democracy among the Christian Democrats themselves. The development of the French Christian Democrats later, particularly just before and after World War II, owed much to the sounder comprehension of democracy by the Christian Democrats, as well as to the weakening of anti-clerical suspicion and a growing tolerance of democratic ideals and practices among some elements of the Catholic Right.[11]

Rutgers University

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[11] Alfred Gendrot (Jean Drault, *pseud.*), *Drumont, La France juive et la Libre Parole* (Paris, 1935), pp. 192-193; Paul Fesch, *L'année sociale et économique en France et à l'étranger* (Paris, 1899), pp. 81-88; Agnes Siegfried, *L'Abbé Frémont, 1852-1912* (Paris, 1932), II, 73-74; Chaine, *op. cit.*, pp. 620-621; Mouthon, *op. cit.*, preface, V; Cornilleau, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-125; Delassus, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-23, 58-59; *Libre Parole,* August 29, October 6-October 24, 1898; January 31, 1899.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

Aspects de l'Université de Paris. By Louis Halphen, P. Glorieux, Gabriel Lebras, Victor Carrière, Charles Samaran, Augustin Renaudet, Gustave Dupont-Ferrier, André D. Tolédano, Charles H. Pouthas, J. Calvet. (Paris: Editions Albin Michel. 1949. Pp. 266. 390 fr.)

The chapters of this book were delivered as lectures at the Catholic Institute of Paris in 1945-1946. The introductory chapter is written by Louis Halphen, who traces the origin of the Parisian schools back to the twelfth century. In explaining the 1209 and 1212 documents connected with the history of the "University" of Paris, he modifies his previous views, acknowledging the contribution of Gaines Post concerning the origin of the corporation of the Parisian masters according to Halphen. The word *universitas* has its complete meaning in 1229. The deed of 1221 made mention of the distinct faculties and the *Parens scienciarum*—1231—already had the set-up of the four faculties.

The history of the Faculty of Theology is depicted by P. Glorieux, eminent specialist in the Quodlibet and Reportata literature. It was this faculty which made Paris a famous city and whose doctors spread the renown of the University abroad. However, I think that the administration and government of the University was really controlled by the masters of the Faculty of Arts, who were discerning enough not to be satisfied with being a "satellite" of the Faculty of Theology. The fight of the Faculty of Arts for its supremacy showed that it never accepted this status of *ancilla* or *pedissequa* (p. 37). Glorieux gives a fascinating description of the importance of theology in the formation of the mediaeval mind. The problems of psychology and cosmology were approached insofar as the mysterious existence of telepathy was treated in the various commentaries on the *Sentences* and during the disputes one could hear the answers of the most urgent questions of the day. The passage in which Glorieux presents the array of doctors of the thirteenth century is a masterpiece written with love, erudition, and competence. In 1207 there were eight chairs of theology, fifty years later twelve, and this number mounted to twenty around 1300.

The history of the Faculty of Law is sketched by Gabriel Lebras. In 1271 the faculty acquired the corporate seal; its professors were recruited among the seculars with the exception of a prelate of Prémontré. The *Decretales* (1234), the *Liber Sextus* of Boniface VIII (1298) and the *Clementines* (1317) served as textbooks.

One of the most charming chapters is that of Charles Samaran, the editor of the last volumes of the *Auctarium* of the University of Paris. He evokes memories of the poor students, the rich "camerists," the free-lance "martinet" and the old "galoche" in their haunts around the Collège of Ste. Geneviève, and the taverns and schools of the Rue de Fouarre. These students belonged mostly to the Faculty of Arts. Part of them were lodged in various colleges, as Dupont-Ferrier points out in his article so rich in details concerning the topography of the University of Paris. The later history of the University is outlined by A. Renaudet, "Humanisme," V. Carrière, "Sorbonne and the Sixteenth Century," D. Tolédano and Ch. H. Pouthas who deal with the period before and after the French Revolution. A chapter on the Catholic Institute of Paris closes this compendium of the history of the University of Paris.

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The Popes and Heresy in the Thirteenth Century. By Albert Clement Shannon, O.E.S.A. (Villanova, Pennsylvania: Augustinian Press. 1949. Pp. ix, 148.)

Father Shannon does not approach the problem of heresy in the thirteenth century by the usual chronicling of events in local areas. Rather, he views the problem as it is centered in Rome; he shows just what the Popes did to suppress heresy. While not touching upon doctrinal aspects, the author makes a specific contribution by synthesizing the underlying and basic policy governing the papal attitude toward heresy. Toward this end he discusses at length the initial efforts to suppress popular heresies, viz., increased episcopal vigilance and the papal countenancing of the Albigensian Crusade. The inefficacy of these methods prompted adoption of the Inquisition and enforcement of extant legal procedures.

The major portion of the book considers in detail the papal attitude and relation to the various aspects of the Inquisition: its inauguration, procedure, penalties, function, and the calibre of the inquisitors. It is here that Father Shannon is at his best. His treatment of controversial questions and the validity of his own conclusions are based upon sound historical evidence. He has obviously dug deeply into the sources: the papal registers, bullaria, and the conciliar decrees.

As a result of his research the author corrects many long-standing distortions concerning the Inquisition. Typical is his commentary on the canard of Henry C. Lea and his followers. Lea charges that the nonidentification of inquisitorial accusers of alleged heretics was the "crowning infamy of the Inquisition." Father Shannon exposes this as the oversimplification that it is. This procedure was warranted by the difficulties endured by the denouncers. Moreover, he shows that the Pontiffs had carefully delineated safeguards whereby abuses in this procedure might be obviated. This is only one instance where the author destroys popular misconceptions; others are treated on pp. 80, 81, and 103.

There is no doubt that this book gives one a clearer understanding of the mediaeval Inquisition. Since the antecedents and history of this institution suffer badly in the writings of popular historians it would profit much to put this treatise into the hands of seminarians, college students, and all those who love the truth.

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Un Español al servicio de la Santa Sede. Don Juan de Carvajal, cardenal de Sant' Angelo, legado en Alemania y Hungria, 1399?-1469. By Lino Gómez Canedo, O.F.M. (Madrid: Instituto Jeronimo Zurita. 1947. Pp. 372.)

With the exception of the brief Latin life by López de Barrera, dating from 1752, and an Hungarian monograph (later turned into German) by Fraknoi published in 1889, Cardinal Juan de Carvajal has not until now received the attention of a biographer. His name, of course, will be remembered from Pastor, while readers of Johannes Hofer's *Johannes von Capestrano, Ein Leben im Kampf um die Reform der Kirche* (Innsbruck, 1936; Eng. trans., St. Louis, 1943), will recognize the prelate as Pope Nicholas V's representative in Bohemia during the Utraquist troubles of 1448 and as Pope Callixtus III's legate in Hungary for the crusade of 1455-1456.

Father Gómez gives the first integrated account of the churchman by utilizing archives in Rome, Siena, Florence, Venice, Vienna, and Budapest. Though not himself quite satisfied with the result of his researches—his complaint (p. 20) is that of a perfectionist—he has made it possible for us now to trace Carvajal's career from his entrance into the service of the Holy See as an auditor of the Rota, sometime prior to August, 1438, until his death as Cardinal-Bishop of Porto and camerlengo of the sacred college, on December 6, 1469. In between those dates, the Spanish bishopric of Coria had been bestowed upon him in October, 1443 (to be resigned some months later) and that of Plasencia in August, 1446, followed by a cardinal's hat and the title of St. Angelo, on December 17 of the same year.

Patently a prelate of more than usual gifts, Carvajal carried out a number of delicate assignments. Along with Nicholas of Cusa, he rendered good service to Pope Eugene IV in Germany during the early 1440's and helped to bring the Pontiff's difficulties with the schismatic synod of Basle to a happy conclusion. He had not a little to do with Eugene's concordats with the princes of February, 1447. Commissioned legate of Pope Nicholas V in the following month, he negotiated the Concordat of Vienna with the Emperor Frederic III on February 17, 1448, and went on to Prague to try to reach a settlement with the Utraquists. Under Callixtus III it was he and Capistran and Hunyadi who were responsible for the defeat of the Turks at Belgrade in July, 1456. Acting for Pius II, he had a hand in preparing the ill-fated Congress of Mantua of 1459 and in organizing the effort that was to have launched a crusading flotilla from Ancona in August, 1464. During the pontificate of Paul II, Carvajal sat upon the papal commission which, three months after his retirement, decreed the deposition of the Bohemian King George Podebrady on December 23, 1466.

Though his private life was exemplary, even to the point of austerity (pp. 15-16, 253-257), the cardinal managed to hold a not inconsiderable number of benefices throughout the years (pp. 34-37, 260). And strangely enough, with all his devotion to the Roman See, he showed but scant attention to his own See of Plasencia. Seven years after his nomination to the bishopric, he had seemingly not as yet received episcopal consecration (p. 91).

Father Gómez' book has both substance and insight. It is handsomely printed and is graced with twelve photographs and three maps. Its first three chapters appeared substantially in the Madrid *Archivo Ibero-Americano* for 1942 and were presented to the Gregorian University, Rome, for the doctorate in church history. The author has not, indeed, availed himself of the titles listed in the bibliographies of the *Cambridge Medieval History,* VIII (1936), chapters 3, 19—many of which are in Czech or Hungarian—but the new matter he has unearthed (seventy pages thereof are printed in the appendices) and the use to which he has put it merit him high praise and make his study the standard work on its subject.

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Le Pape Benoît XII et les Cisterciens. By Jean-Berthold Mahn. (Paris: Libraire Edouard Champion. 1949. Pp. 152.)

This scholarly work was completed in 1937 and, as a second thesis, complemented the author's *L'ordre Cistercien et son gouvernement (1098-1265),* (Paris, 1945) as requirements for the degree of docteur ès lettres. Since M. Mahn was killed fighting as a soldier in Italy, the world of scholarship is indebted to Mme. Mahn who prepared the work for publication.

The subject discussed is Pope Benedict XII's relations as Pope with his own order. By the fourteenth century there is ample evidence from the order's own documents that St. Bernard would frown on the way of life of many of his followers. A fourteenth-century Cistercian was apt to live more luxuriously; many an abbot had his own house apart from the community and at his table meat was served. Yet it is a mistake to brand the order as a whole decadent, though some of its members might have departed from the ideal. I think M. Mahn's statements on the decadence of the order are too general. There were many abbots still crying aloud in the general chapters for a return to the stricter observance of St. Bernard's days. Pope Benedict XII had been an abbot and the spirit of reform was strong in him.

Jacques Fournier was a university product and probably the most brilliant university theologian produced by the order. Attached to the curia of his predecessor, John XXII, he had seen that Pope set the theological world at loggerheads on the question of the beatific vision. On Pope John's death, the wary cardinals avoided men trained in either civil or canon law and chose a pure theologian, the man who had taken the side of orthodoxy in the still bitter struggle. This was the Cistercian Jacques Fournier who took the name Benedict XII.

Benedict's interests were not in secular politics but in the Church and in the men in monasteries whose rules mattered so much to the spiritual life of the Church. Consequently, he endeavored to reform most of the orders and accomplish what Popes had been attempting to fulfill over the last century. For his own order he issued the bull, *Fulgens sicut stella matutina.* The opening words are reminiscent of St. Bernard's *Sermon on the Canticles,* but the content is more matter of fact than mystical. There are provisions for setting the economy of the order on a firm foundation; regulations on the observance of the rule; admittance of candidates; and, more in accord with Benedict's own career, ordinances on the intellectual and university life of the monks. Opposition to the bull came by way of passive resistance. Some abbots neglected to procure copies, others ignored its existence while some demanded explanations and entered into lengthy disputes thereon. Yet, looking at the bull in relation to its age, its content and the other contemporary documents of the order, I wonder if Benedict's purpose was not so much to reform as an effort to stabilize the fourteenth century status quo. The bull is a far cry from the statute of 1134.

M. Mahn's work has many serious drawbacks which, I am sure, would have been remedied were he on hand to do so. A reader acquainted with the Cistercian Order will find himself in a vacuum both in relation to the order and the fourteenth century. M. Mahn's other volume shows that this defect would have been avoided had he lived, and Mme. Mahn is, therefore, to be congratulated for procuring publication of this fine work of scholarship.

JEREMIAH F. O'SULLIVAN

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La crise révolutionnaire, 1789-1846. By Jean Leflon. [*Histoire de l'Église* Ed. by Augustin Fliche and Victor Martin. Volume XX.] Paris: Bloud and Gay. 1949. Pp. 524, 960 frs.)

Of the many signs of the renaissance of French Catholicism the intellectual reawakening is, perhaps, the most heartening. Historiography has not been neglected in the contemporary burgeoning of Catholic thought and many excellent studies have appeared. High on the list has been the impressive *Histoire de l'Église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours,* edited by Fliche and Martin. A number of the projected twenty-four volumes have appeared; the work under review is the twentieth of a series that has already commanded serious attention.

One might maintain that a volume on the revolutionary period by a French cleric who is professor at the Catholic Institute of Paris would be a good index of the quality of French Catholic scholarship. In no area is detachment so difficult and, until recently, has it been so generally absent. For the French the Revolution is not an historical event but a force, an ever-present reality. Professor Farmer *(France Reviews its Revolutionary Origins)* has shown that not only has the Revolution been fought again by every generation since 1789, but its historiography reflects every current of subsequent thought. A Frenchman's interpretation of 1789 is a divining rod that reveals his intellectual foundations.

Time was when a French Catholic writing on the Revolution betrayed a bitterness that prevented any true perception of the movement that moulded modern France. Taine's *Origines* was the textbook which furnished an ideology to all the Right and contained within it the seeds of an anti-rational romanticism. Barruel "proved" that the Revolution was a plot of the few to rob the many of their heritage of Catholicism and monarchy (Leflon traces this "plot" theory to the émigrés' reluctance to ascribe to the generality of their countrymen a movement they detested). The persistent attempt to view the Revolution as the exclusive work of the Free Masons pointed up the inability of the French Catholics to examine it rationally.

The present volume is proof that more sober judgments have prevailed. Consequently, it is a manifestation of the extent to which French Catholics have made their peace with the Revolution, and one cannot read the author's appreciation of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man* without thinking wryly of earlier expositions. Quite apart from this refreshing approach, this is history at its best. The author is familiar with all the vast literature, including regional and local studies, and the book would be indispensable for the bibliography alone. Professor Leflon treats a difficult period with unusual balance and judgment. A most careful workman, he does not lose himself in detail. The result is an extremely readable study that captures the tension of events without sacrificing thorough scholarship. One can only hope that, like the splendid volumes of Lebreton and Zeiller in the same series, this work will soon find an American publisher and appear in translation.

La crise révolutionnaire begins with an analysis of the religious conditions in France on the eve of the Revolution. He discusses the various explanations of Aulard, Mathiez, Guérin for the development of the anti-Christian tendencies in the Revolution, shows their inadequacies, and attempts to build a comprehensive thesis from a close examination of the factors involved. From his examination of the internal weaknesses of the French Church, he dismisses the Masonic causation theory as absurd. In this section, the author is heavily indebted to Latreille's recently published *L'Église catholique et la Révolution,* a dependence that is frequently verbal over long passages.

Canon Leflon leans heavily on the "circonstances" interpretation, without accepting it fully. He demonstrates that the vast majority of the men of 1789 were practicing Catholics, with no intention of attacking the Church. But they were saturated with the parliamentarian viewpoint and were burdened by Gallicanism and the rest of the inheritance of the old regime and acted according to its principles. The steps by which the Revolution moved toward the policy of dechristianization are carefully traced, as are the forces which operated for the survival of Catholicism. The tremendously significant period of the Directory is particularly well-treated. Correctly the author emphasizes the *serment de soumission des lois* of 1795, which divided the non-juring clergy into the intransigents who placed politics above the interests of religion, and the moderates who were willing to make concessions to the new order. This division was to persist throughout the nineteenth century, with the former normally in the ascendency, with the consequent loss to the Church of the mass of Frenchmen who were gradually won over to the basic principles of the Revolution.

As a biographer of Bernier, Canon Leflon is well-prepared to recount the negotiations for the Concordat of 1801. His masterly synthesis of Napoleon's religious policy is eminently fair and he follows his inevitable conflict with the Papacy from its ideological roots to its maturity. Pius VII and Consalvi win another eloquent, though discriminating, champion.

The final portion of this volume considers the shadows cast by the Revolution on the period 1815-1846. The diplomatic genius of Consalvi had recovered the major part of the temporal possessions of the Papacy, but

ST. MARY OF THE SPRINGS

even his capabilities could not make them a viable state and his abrupt dismissal by Leo XII precluded any possibility of the continuance of papal rule over central Italy. The policies of the successors of Pius VII are outlined, with special reference to their relations with political and intellectual movements of their period. The volume ends with new currents struggling for expression and with Europe ready for the explosion of 1848.

The editors modestly announce: "Ce travail fait honneur à l'histoire française." This reviewer would go much further and is particularly grateful that a French Catholic has produced this magnificent study.

JOSEPH N. MOODY

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Pio IX e la rivoluzione romana del 1848. Saggio di storia economico-sociale. By Domenico Demarco. [Collezione storica del Risorgimento italiano. Volume XXXVI, Serie II.] (Modena: Società Tipografica Modenese, 1947. Pp. 152. L. 500.)

The sub-title of this volume is an indication of its purpose. It attempts to show that the revolution which began with the murder of Pellegrino Rossi and the flight of Pius IX from Rome in November, 1848, was essentially the result of economic and social problems which the papal government had failed to satisfy. In substance, this amounts to a survey of the civil administration of the Papal States during the first twenty-eight months of the reign of Pius IX. The principal problems were those of food supply, the high cost of living, and the scarcity of money in circulation. The years 1845-1848 were times of famine and financial crisis in most countries on the continent, and the government of Pius IX was at least as successful in solving these problems as any government in Europe. In fact, from the account of Demarco, the government of the Papal States seems to have done more for its people than most other governments even tried to do.

But other things were agitating the minds of the subjects of Pius IX: the desire for Italian national unity, the urge to participate in their own government, and the great disappointment of being forced to desert Piedmont in its fight to drive the Austrians from Italy. Professor Demarco does not neglect these factors, but he does underestimate them. He seems also to slight the sentiment of dissatisfaction with clerical government as such.

The final impression left on the reader is that the thesis is not proved. On the contrary, it seems quite clear that neither economic nor social difficulties were at the bottom of the Roman Revolution of 1848. It was engineered by professional revolutionaries, many of whom were not Romans, and most of whom did not suffer from any economic ills curable by the government. The value of this work, however, is not greatly affected by the failure to prove its point. It is an original and substantial contribution to our understanding of the difficulties of the position of Pius IX. The author has worked through a very wide assortment of printed sources such as newspapers, contemporary letters, pamphlets, and memoirs, as well as a selection of older and recent monographs, but there is no indication that any archives or unprinted material were utilized. The bibliography seems to lack only the fundamental works of Joseph Schmidlin and that of the Berkeleys.

FRANCIS GLIMM

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AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Mother Seton. Mother of Many Daughters. By Charles I. White. (New York: Doubleday & Co. 1949. Pp. xx, 300. $2.50.)

In justice to the editors of this current revision of Charles I. White's biography it must be stated at the outset that this volume was printed with the primary purpose of furnishing a religious tract rather than a true biography. The Sisters of Charity who undertook the revision and sponsored the publication hoped to have available a work to meet the requests of Seton devotees. The Vice-Postulator of the Cause states frankly in his introduction that this volume is primarily of value to the process of canonization. It is not surprising, therefore, that the present biography falls far short of being a truly historical definition of the career of Elizabeth Bayley Seton.

The revision of 1949 was directed toward "insuring greater conciseness and simplicity," and the elimination of "diffuseness and a ponderous formality" which characterized the earlier editions. Toward this end new paragraphing has arbitrarily been adopted which, together with the larger print and more pleasing format, makes the volume more appealing. Virtually everything except Mother Seton's own actions is pruned from the admirable older versions. Relatives, friends, clergy, and events are relegated to sparse notes in the back of the book. Descriptions of other Sisters of Charity, lengthy details regarding the Seton children are sheared off or condensed. What emerges is undiluted Mother Seton, religious foundress. The rubbing out of the background makes a more sharply-defined portrait, but the technique has the disadvantage of bewildering many a twentieth-century reader who is thus deprived of the eighteenth-century flavor which would make Elizabeth Seton more understandable. Many of the peculiarities of style and manners which were products of the turn of the century have now become Seton idiosyncracies, and to some readers irritating when not offensive.

The present revision includes some minor corrections such as giving the correct number of sisters of Mother Seton, identifying an occasional author of a letter, adding dates to some letters and journal pages, and changing the nineteenth-century "Mr." for clergy to present usage, "Father." The revision also refers to research done by Charles L. Souvay on Mother Seton's conversion dates, and by Arthur J. Burns on Dr. Richard Bayley's will. The revision fails, however, to make certain other corrections which could have been included, such as distinguishing between the two Filicchi brothers when referring to their relations with Mrs. Seton, correcting the chronology of the arrival of the sisters at Emmitsburg, labeling the legend of herring and molasses for what it is, indicating that the Cheverus correspondence White did not locate is now at Mount Saint Vincent's on the Hudson, and identifying the more than thirty letters which are still left anonymous.

This reviewer cannot conclude without commenting on a few errors made by the revisionists. The Posts in 1805 lived at Greenwich, not Staten Island (p. 120). The letter quoted on p. 201 was written to Catherine Dupleix, not to Julia Scott. Charles du Pavillon was Anna Seton's "favorite," not her "fiancé" (p. 207). Changing White's "martyr's firmness" to "modest firmness" substantially changes the connotation, and there are several changes of this type made. Quotation marks are carelessly placed so as to confuse the exact words of Mother Seton with those of either White or the revisionists. Omissions within the exact quotations are not indicated in any way. These are, perhaps, minor mistakes which need not detract from the book's general purpose. But the historian must use the volume with something less than full confidence. The book's greatest defect is, of course, that it is still a one-hundred-year-old biography. If the last hundred years of archival opportunities must be ignored, this reviewer still prefers the 1853 White edition, unexpurgated. The reading public deserves, however, and so does Mother Seton, a definitive, historical biography of this great American woman.

ANNABELLE M. MELVILLE

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La route du petit morvandian. Souvenirs. Volume V. *Sans Arrêt.* By Félix Klein. (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1949. Pp. 346.)

In the latest volume of his memoirs, Abbé Klein begins by portraying his reactions to the condemnation of "Americanism." He regrets his withdrawal of *Père Hecker,* an action he says he never would have taken had he known the nature of the replies of Archbishops Ireland and Keane to the *Testem benevolentiae* of Pope Leo XIII. He relates his visit to Saint-Moritz-Bad in search of health and his conversations with his friends, the Gibsons, to whom he explained his ideal of true Americanism as "the union of individual liberty with respect for authority, of science with faith, of love of the present with the spirit of tradition, of the natural with the supernatural virtues." His admiration seems to have shifted from Ireland to Spalding, whose works and whose outspoken sermon at the Church of the Jesù in Rome filled him with delight. A visit to Italy in 1900 brought about a chance meeting with Lepidi whom he rebuked for his *imprimatur* to Maignen's diatribe, and an audience with Rampolla, to whom he spoke freely of the situation in France and of the mistake of French Catholics in dealing with the Dreyfus case. Klein was evidently chagrined at Ireland's sermon in Washington on the temporal power of the Papacy, and his article on the same subject in the *North American Review,* for he quotes the bitter criticisms of O'Connell and Kraus, omitting that of Spalding which is too trenchant for reproduction. He tells of his conferences at the church of the Catholic Institute of Paris which provoked the wrath of the apostolic delegate, Archbishop Lorenzelli, because of his use of the term "religious phenomena," and those at the church of the Sorbonne, which brought protest from the Minister of Worship. A chapter on his month's visit to England, where he enjoyed the hospitality of the Gibsons, brings the first part of the book to an end.

The second part of the volume is taken up with Klein's travels in the United States, the "Land of the Strenuous Life." The most interesting episodes relate to his conversations with Bishop McQuaid and Archbishop Ireland, especially the former's defense of his famous attack on the Archbishop of St. Paul and the latter's indignation with the cardinals who had accepted the veto of Austria in the conclave of 1903.

The book suffers somewhat from the abbé's failure to indicate clearly his chronology which at times makes his narrative difficult to follow.

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AMERICAN HISTORY

The American Mind. By Henry Steele Commager. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1950. Pp. ix, 476. $5.00.)

Henry Steel Commager has taken a page from the thesis of the late

Louis Vernon Parrington and endeavored to tell the history of the American mind since 1880 with the same combination of literary crticism and historical analysis that Parrington used so well. In his ability to express himself and in his understanding of the social backgrounds of American literature Professor Commager is a worthy successor of Parrington. He is much more restrained in his partisanship than Parrington but he lacks the latter's ability in abstract reasoning. He has an amazing mastery of American literature, particularly the novel, and a straightforwardness in expression that gives to his analysis of the literary mind of the past sixty years a validity and an accuracy that is invaluable. Had he been content to evaluate the literary and social history of the past sixty years this volume might have gained a place alongside the three volumes of Parrington; that he wandered into the field of philosophy and special pleading about current problems in the second half of his book is regrettable. The second half detracts seriously from the high quality of the early chapters of the book.

Professor Commager's description of the late nineteenth-century American makes delightful reading, with his delineation of the American's sense of spaciousness, mobility, independence, and optimism. He recognizes that the American was not history-minded, that he looked to the future and not to the past. He has caught the contradiction in the American cultural attitude which rejected predestination but retained the rigidity in externals which had its origin in that doctrine. He laughingly points out how even evolution was acceptable to the American only in the sense that man could direct the evolution and have belief in a benign Divinity at the same time. Professor Commager retains the traditional American worship of Jefferson and Emerson even in his blind acceptance of pragmatism. There is, however, no trace of that understanding that all these things have their origin in the American Puritan's notion of knowledge and morality such as Perry Miller found in his study of the seventeenth-century New England mind. Professor Commager is remarkably deficient in theological knowledge and untrained in speculative philosophy. Nevertheless, he does give a good description of the cult of irrationality manifest in American literature at the turn of the century, when the great revolt against the genteel tradition plunged so many talented writers into overindulgence in sex and crime. His observation that so many Catholic leaders were liberal in all except intellectual matters is truer than he meant it to be, if one understands by intellectual the matters of religious faith and morals. His opinion that American religion became secularized when it went into the field of social and economic welfare, like that of many other recent writers, is based on the traditional puritanical notion that the religion of Sunday had nothing to do with the business and life of the rest of the week. R. H. Tawney and Herbert Schneider have given a better explanation of the secularization of Puritan life. In his account of the immigrant Catholics he fails to note the permanence of the native American element which has never disappeared among Catholics. He is incorrect when he says that the Maria Monk type of suspicion of Catholics exists only in the backward parts of such states "as Indiana and Arkansas." I doubt that Blanshard's twentieth-century version of Maria Monk's *Disclosures* has had many sales in those regions, while it has received praise among literate persons in our large cities who should know better. I do not, however, wish to imply in any way that Professor Commager shares Blanshard's attitude toward Catholics. He has a real admiration for the work of Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Ireland, and Monsignor John A. Ryan.

Among Commager's heroes of these sixty years one will find most of the progenitors of the New Deal, especially Lester Ward and Thorstein Veblen, and LaFollette and Justice Holmes and Roscoe Pound. He admires from afar Henry Adams but does not seem to accept Adams' "Prayer to the Virgin." His philosophy has been the creation of William James, Charles Peirce, and John Dewey, with the greatest faith in Dewey. In history he acknowledges also Turner, Parrington, and Beard. In literature he praises those who took up the cudgels for social reform. There is no mention of the newest humanism professed by Hutchins of Chicago, and the faculty of St. John's College, Annapolis. In all things he professes to support the all-embracing philosophy of pragmatism. But he uses the word pragmatism in many senses. In the sense that pragmatism means being practical, in the American sense of making the best of new situations, no one will object to the accolade he gives to current American thought. But in the sense of philosophical instrumentalism it is a rather weird faith. Generally he professes a faith in four dogmas: evolution, pragmatism, economic forces, and social psychology. His evolution does not admit of any retrogressions; his pragmatism is not a philosophy but an absolute denial of any absolute; his economics is a planned economy *à la* Veblen, and his psychology lacks a spiritual soul. Unfortunately, the last chapters indicate that Commager feels that pragmatism is creating a new American faith in which these four forces will eliminate all evil and fasten itself on the new generation in much the same manner that the new dispensation behind the iron curtain is supposed to create there a new world in which religion, class conflict, and dissatisfaction will be left behind. Apparently Professor Commager has spent so much time reading the critical and despairing literature of the past sixty years that he cannot understand those who have faith in the Gospel message and in the ultimate victory of the spiritual over the material.

THOMAS T. MCAVOY

University of Notre Dame

The People Shall Judge: Readings in the Formation of American Policy. Two volumes. Selected and edited by the Staff, Social Sciences I, the College of the University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1949. Pp. xvi, 797; xiv, 934. $4.50 each.)

A notable recent development in the teaching of American history on the college level has been the "problems" approach. Within the last year books embodying different versions of this general technique have been produced by members of the faculties of Yale (cf. the *Catholic Historical Review* for October, 1949), Amherst, and Chicago, the latter being the subject of this review. These two substantial volumes, according to the introduction, aim to help the student to acquire a basic knowledge of American ideas and institutions, to learn to analyze leading social issues, and to gain a sense of responsibility toward those issues and their final disposition. The material is presented in the form of some thirteen divisions, called "units," that roughly parallel (or, in some cases, their subdivisions, called "sections," more nearly parallel) the Yale and Amherst problems. These units cover the full sweep of American history from the first, "Authority and Liberty in the Seventeenth Century," to the last, "Recent Foreign Policy," in which the North Atlantic Pact is one of the documents. Each is prefaced by an introduction that sets the background of the particular set of questions dealt with, while every document is accompanied by an explanatory note giving in very brief compass relevant factual data.

The units and their introductions vary in length and quality. Units II ("The American Revolution"), III ("Confederation and Constitution"), and XIII ("Recent Foreign Policy") seem especially well balanced and well served by their respective introductions; Unit XII ("Freedom in an Industrial Society") is too long and diffuse to form a unified problem. It is useless in such a limited space to quarrel over the selection of material. Given the editors' accent on public issues and their desire to treat history as a kind of "endless debate," the writings and documents chosen fulfill their function, and the choice of any of them in such a context is readily defensible, although several might have been shortened by more rigorous editing. The many judicial decisions included, all of which, incidentally, have admirable notes explaining their technical legal terms, could have been reduced in length if not in number, and room made for more material. One wonders, too, if the editors have not succeeded too well in making history a continuous debate; Clio often assumes here the character of a garrulous and indecisive old woman. In any case, the result is an emphasis on political, constitutional, and economic, at the expense of social and cultural history. Since the material is intended as the basis for a general course, to which lectures and textbooks are subsidiary, such an omission means that any course fully utilizing it will inevitably accent a traditional type of American history.

The three sets of problems named offer interesting comparisons. In contrast to the Chicago volumes, the Yale problems are narrower in scope, broader and deeper in the selection of material, and more tightly woven, both individually and in the accentuation of a continuing theme ("Nationalism and Sectionalism in America, 1775-1877"; "Government and the American Economy, 1870-Present"). The Amherst problems have the considerable advantage of being published in individually purchasable booklets. They also evidence the "American Studies" approach, treating such topics as transcendentalism and pragmatism, subjects which neither of the others touches on directly. The Chicago editors have used only primary or source materials; Yale's utilizes mainly these while also giving selections from leading historians; while many of the Amherst problems are made up, half or more, of controversial selections from contemporary historians. The Amherst materials are intended to be supplemented by lectures only (when all twelve problems are used). The Chicago and Yale volumes are to be supplemented by both lectures and a text; the volumes under review constitute the major part of a basic course while the Yale works make up about half of such a course. All three productions offer stimulating and exciting possibilities both to teachers and students of American history.

JAMES EDMUND ROOHAN

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Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth. By Henry Nash Smith. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1950. Pp. xiv, 305. $4.50.)

Professor Smith's analysis of the role of the West in American history is a welcome addition to the growing body of scholarly material now being made available for a re-interpretation of the significance of the frontier in American development. Having set up such a theme, he necessarily had to consider the implications of the Turner hypothesis. Although he does not want to give the impression that he aims to determine whether the Turner thesis is a valid interpretation of American history or not, he does present conclusions which tend to indicate that the frontier theory as enunciated by the "master and his long line of disciples" presents a number of grave dilemmas for the contemporary historian.

Professor Smith believes that Turner's agrarian code, based as it is upon the notion that American democracy has been born of free land, does not offer a completely satisfactory explanation now for "a world dominated by industry, urbanzation, and international conflicts." The emphasis on the agrarian tradition, according to the author, has glorified a myth which "has impeded cooperation between farmers and factory workers in more than one crisis in our history. . . ." Furthermore, "the contemptuous indifference" which certain aspects of the Turner doctrine may foster toward our European heritage has frequently "made it difficult for Americans to think of themselves as members of a world community. . . ."

Yet, in spite of the current trend in the direction of a reappraisal of the significance of the West in American development, prominent American historians, as evidenced by their reaction to the Pierson criticism of 1940, are still not ready to discard all of the frontier theory. Making due allowance for the provincialism and excessive nationalism which an overemphasis on western factors and the role of the sections may produce, Turner can be credited with having stimulated an interest and concern about a broader treatment of American history than was typical in his day. As so frequently happens with a new approach, it often takes on the character of *the* interpretation instead of serving as a guide for *an* interpretation of a particular historical problem. Yet such a study as that compiled by Professor Smith helps to place the West in wiser perspective and indicates why a restatement of the frontier theory may be in order.

In this book the author offers more than a critical setting for the presentation of the Turner hypothesis. He has drawn upon the rich materials of American and European literary figures to expose how the West during the nineteenth century proved both a symbol and a myth for countless Americans. Interest in the Far West as a highway to the Pacific and as a means to gain a passage to India, the nature of Manifest Destiny, the characteristics of the "sons of Leatherstocking," including an appraisal of the western hero and heroine in the dime novel, along with an investigation of the nature of American agrarianism are some of the topics which receive special consideration. Professor Smith has succeeded in presenting a very stimulating analysis which integrates western political and social history with that of American literature. The reviewer only regrets that the attitudes of leading western Catholic missionaries and churchmen toward colonization and the religious factors involved in the settlement of the trans-Appalachian country did not receive more intensive treatment.

VINCENT G. TEGEDER

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The Forty-Eighters. Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848. Edited by A. E. Zucker. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1950. Pp. xviii, 379. $4.50.)

This book was published for the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation by the Columbia University Press. The editor opens its preface with the startling statement that "there has never been a book written on the Forty-eighters." Hence there was no pattern to follow. Moreover, it was hard to organize the subject matter. He defines a forty-eighter as "one who came to the United States from German-speaking territory as a result of his participation in the Revolution of 1848." Thereby he eliminates contemporary immigrants who came for other reasons as well as earlier immigrants who had similar convictions. It is estimated that 4,000 forty-eighters migrated to the United States where they preferred urban occupations to rural life.

Though the eight chapters of the book were written by different authors they constitute an integrated whole which is due partly to the similarity of the leaders and partly to the briefness of the period under scrutiny. An appendix offers a bibliography and footnotes yet neither is arranged in the usual way. The last ninety pages present biographical sketches of 300 prominent characters. The greatest merit of the volume lies in its tangible discussion of intangibles. The third chapter, e. g., concretely re-creates the milieu in Milwaukee, Chicago, St. Louis, Davenport, and New Ulm. In the essay on politics, which discusses the Germans and Lincoln's election, the author carefully avoids generalizations. Many names are cited in connection with the battlefields but the chapter on the Civil War does not degenerate into a mere concatenation of biographies.

Readers of this *Review* may regret that the religious angle was not given more attention, but the essays make it clear that the forty-eighters were often vociferously anti-clerical and inclined to agnosticism. Father Pabisch of Cincinnati is listed in the biographical section as one who "fought on the barricades." In view of the fact that he was ordained in 1850 after having previously studied law and philosophy in Vienna, he must have experienced a sudden change of heart and absorbed little theology. The reviewer suspects that he was not a genuine revolutionary. If he was, this professor of church history merited more attention as a phenomenon.

The Forty-Eighters is valuable for those concerned with the American Civil War and its causes. The educator will read it with profit because of its analysis of the Turners. Besides featuring physical education these people had a *Weltanschauung*. The book likewise has value for the sociologist because it touches upon proposed reforms and on such dreams as "one world." Incidentally, too, it takes up woman suffrage, prohibition, and nativism. A symposium like this is necessarily rich in sidelights. Highly interesting is the exposé of Lincoln's secret purchase of the *Illinois Staatsanzeiger* of Springfield in 1859. He let Theodore Canisius, a forty-eighter, edit it as a devout Republican sheet to offset the Chicago *Staatszeitung* which was boosting Seward for the presidency. Though the forty-eighters were not party-bound they were mostly Republicans while the

German Catholics were usually Democrats. The former, because of their flair for journalism and oratory, have received so much rhapsodic recognition that the latter are often overlooked.

The Carl Schurz Foundation has made a worthy contribution to the history of ideas in the United States by publishing this study of the scattered ideological minority known as the forty-eighters.

BENJAMIN J. BLIED
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The Economic Mind in American Civilization. Volume III. *1865-1918.* By Joseph Dorfman. (New York: Viking Press. 1949. Pp. xiv, 494, lxxvii. $6.00.)

Professor Dorfman has made an heroic effort to epitomize in a single volume the economic views of leading American thinkers between the Civil War and World War I. This book deals with men not institutions, and with ideas rather than technology. For extent of coverage and profundity of research it is an outstanding contribution.

Written as the third volume of a contemplated four-volume series, it deals with a period in American history during which economic changes were profound and yearly phenomena. The formation of the American economic mind was due in great part to these economic changes, to the construction of the railroads, the decline of agriculture, the growth of large corporations and large fortunes, the mass distribution of consumer and production goods, the rise of a large city proletariat, periodic depressions, the closing of the American frontier, the influx of immigrants, inequalities in wealth, business domination of government, the rise of a national trade union movement, etc.

These incidents in American growth affected, in the first place, the ideology and attitudes of the people, the doctrine of equality, the doctrine of states' rights, the limits of government function, social legislation, the supremacy of the business man and the entrepreneur, the attitude toward foreign trade and cheap labor, the purpose and function of trade unions, and the function of the judicial system. On the other hand, they were also responsible for the development of the science of economics, producing such men as Henry George, Henry Carey, Simon Patten, John B. Clark, John R. Commons, Thorstein Veblen, Wesley Mitchell, and others.

The interesting part of the present volume from the viewpoint of the Catholic is the obvious and predominant influence of Protestantism in the formation of American economic thinking. Dorfman refers to approximately thirty Protestant ministers or their sons as influential in the development of the American economic mind. Only one Catholic, John A. Ryan, merits mention as an economic thinker. The supremacy of Protestant thought in the United States during this period is understandable in the light of the Protestant control of the leading colleges and universities, including Princeton, Brown, Amherst, Andover, and Syracuse. Of the thirty representatives of Protestant economic thought quoted by Dorfman, less than ten proved sympathetic to labor and trade unions.

The Reverend Lynn Atwater of Princeton saw only harm in trade unions. He accused unions of being the greatest single factor responsible for the financial and industrial distress of the 1870's. The Reverend Julian Sturtevant of Illinois College believed so passionately in the law of competition that he would starve out those workers unable to survive its rigor. The Reverend Aaron Chapin of Beloit College disapproved of trade unions because they interefered with the law of supply and demand. The Reverend John Gregory of Illinois held that workers must be compelled to realize that periods of unemployment belong to the regular phenomena of industrial life and to count upon the certainty of periods of enforced idleness.

Charles McFarlane, a later economist, adopted the axiom: capital is Protestant. He did not see how capitalism with its emphasis on individual freedom could be reconciled with Catholicism with its emphasis on authority.

Fortunately for Protestantism, economics, and American workers later Protestant economists, including Commons, Veblen, and the two Clarks, divorced themselves from early Protestant economic thought. Modern Protestant organizations are closer to the papal encyclicals in their economic views than they are to their own economic ancestors.

The research in this book is first rate. Public documents, state historical archives, newspapers, economic journals, and secondary historical works have been used to unearth the economic thinking of famous and not so famous writers and pamphleteers. Private collections such as the Stillwell, Wells, Folwell, Ely, Giddings, and Seligman Papers have also been tapped. The style is clear and readable, although the lack of a bibliographical essay or at least a bibliography is a notable handicap to the reader. The index is complete.

GEORGE A. KELLY

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LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY

Mexico. The Struggle for Peace and Bread. By Frank Tannenbaum. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1950. Pp. xiv, 293, xii. $3.50.)

Professor Tannenbaum, who has been in close touch with the Mexican revolution since 1921, particularly as an advocate of the return to the ejidal or communal land system for the Indian population, here summarizes his views of Mexican history and gives a detailed analysis of the current problems, with a view toward the future. Although the distinctive reason for the book is a presentation and evaluation of the economic results of the revolution and of the economic alternatives now facing the country, practically all phases of Mexican life and philosophy are touched upon, in one form or another; and the author takes the opportunity to add a chapter on the controversies between Mexico and the United States from the end of the Diaz regime, which he develops as "The Anvil of American Foreign Policy."

The general tone of the book is brisk and positive. The author is on familiar terms with his subject and particularly brilliant in his handling of the human and psychological factors of the Mexican and of Mexican national life. His chapter on the revolutionary theory of property, as derived both from the Spanish conception of royal domain and Henry George socialism, is particularly illuminating; likewise his analysis of labor legislation and the political use of labor by the state, which has "in fact made out of the union an official organism for the effectuation of its own purposes." In writing on "Politics and Government," Tannenbaum presents a realistic picture of the electoral system, as well as of the ruling powers of the President; and he does not hesitate to chastise widespread political corruption, which he decries as one of the factors in national instability and violence.

After crusading these many years for the revolution as the hope of economic redemption in Mexico, the author suddenly finds himself frustrated in various aspects. The revolution, which began in 1910, he regards as having come to an end, or at least to a standstill, in 1946, dashing or at least slowing up his hopes for a complete communization of lands. He admits the failure of the *ejido* to secure economic self-sufficiency for the nation, but he places the responsibility on two other forces—"the rapidly increasing population and the rapidly eroding soil," both of which, he states, must be controlled. His pessimism in this field is matched by an equally dim outlook of the current industrial development in Mexico, and he views with particular alarm the possibility of renewed foreign investment loans. Tannenbaum's solution is rather "a philosophy of little things," with emphasis on local handicrafts, which the early intellectuals of the revolution took credit for. With the slowing up of collectivization processes, he finds the general picture dreary; and states: "I must confess to myself with sorrow that both the zeal and the faith have largely departed from Mexico."

Despite an obvious desire for objectivity and historical fairness, it is evident that Professor Tannenbaum's basic appraisals are directed by his own philosophic naturalism and economic collectivism. Appreciation for the Spanish cultural contributions in Mexico is extremely nugatory. The

Spanish conquest is described as an attempt "to strip the Mexicans of their psychological continuity as a people" and as a tragedy of "purposelessness . . . in its destructive character." Likewise, the significance of Catholic spiritual development is viewed pretty much as a foreign importation—as in the most characteristic revolutionary thinking of the 1920's and 1930's. According to the author, the "permanent European contribution to Mexico was the unplanned appearance of the *mestizo.*" As in his previous books, he gives the Church credit for endeavoring to protect the Indian communities during the colonial era; but his general approach, in the opinion of this reviewer, is unsympathetic and subject to factual criticism, in many ways. Similarly, in his appraisal of politics,—no matter how disappointing the Revolutionary Party may be, the opposition parties seem to be simply agents of discontent, "stirring up political passions," confusing public opinion, and enlisting the allegiance of the army. This comes close to calling one's opponents "fascists."

This volume may be described as a valuable and important contribution to the perennial problems of Mexico as projected into the twentieth century, but definitely oriented by a socialist philosophy of the Mexican Revolution.

JAMES A. MAGNER

The Catholic University of America

Books of the Brave, Being an Account of Books and Men in the Spanish Conquest and Settlement of the Sixteenth-Century New World. By Irving A. Leonard. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. xiii, 381. $5.00.)

Here is a study that has long been needed. The Spanish discovery, exploration, conquest, and settlement of the new world within the short span of a century constitutes an epic that thirst of gold and glory alone cannot explain. The most casual reading of the great achievement reveals that the men of the conquest strove constantly to outdo the fabled wonders of Amadis de Gaula, Palmerin, and the Caballero Cifar. How can the heroic pose and knightly bearing of the conquistador, evident to all students of Spanish America, be explained? No vulgar adventurers were they who saw in the strange land and its people vivid resemblances to legendary kingdoms and amazons. The obscurantism attributed to Spain as a policy has precluded the consideration of cultural aspects in regard to the conquest. It has been taken for granted, largely as the result of the "Black Legend," that most of the men engaged in the great drama were ignorant, gross adventurers, without culture, illiterate, swayed by vulgar passions, greed, and avarice. This unfair attitude on the part of many has raised the error to the sacredness of dogma. Even scholars have been hesitant to question it. Too many are still convinced that Spanish officials consistently tried to isolate the colonies from European thought through the exclusion of all books, except religious tracts. It has been thought until very recently that the book trade with the colonies was limited to religious and theological literature.

In this book about the books read by the conquistadores and their companions—largely fiction, prohibitions not withstanding—is to be found an explanation. "Fictional writings," observes the author, "are not only the subjective records of human experience, but sometimes the unconscious instigators of the actions of men . . . conditioning their attitudes and responses." The matchless courage and driving force of the conquistador was more than brawn, more than mere physical strength and endurance, it was a quality of the mind that tempered the spirit. It appears that the conquistadors were voracious readers of romantic fiction; that on the long and slow voyage across the sea, it was not uncommon for one of the men to read aloud to the others passages from the interminable novels of chivalry; that on the march through the unblazed trails they forgot the day's hardships as they sat by the glowing fire and listened to one of their companions read the wondrous tales. The story of the literary diet enjoyed by the men of the conquest and how it influenced their lives is told in the first six chapters. The character, the extent, and the volume of the book trade is presented in the next six chapters. The profitable trade enjoyed by the publishers of Seville and the printers of the new world, where the first press was set up as early as 1539 brings the shocking realization that a higher percentage of literacy must have existed in the colonies than has been suspected. How is the sale of so many books otherwise explained? The reader wonders how these facts can be reconciled with the traditional strict censorship of the Inquisition. "The sway of the Holy Office," explains the author, "was less completely despotic than is commonly believed." The last seven chapters are a series of case histories of individual shipments to indicate the wide dissemination of books throughout the sixteenth century, reaching as far as the Philippines.

Here we have the result of seventeen years of research on an aspect of the conquest and settlement generally neglected that should interest students of literature as well as historians. It comes to form part of the new picture of Spain in America which intelligent, patient, and unbiased research is bringing out. Progress in correcting deep-rooted misconceptions is always slow. The hard rock of traditional belief in Spanish intolerance toward humanistic literature in America, the author points out, is being slowly blasted. The legend of Spanish obscurantism is being systematically shattered without white-washing. The men that blazed the trails, conquered native kingdoms, and founded permanent settlements a century before the English set foot in North America, appear to have been more than simple butchers of helpless natives or crazed hunters of easy treasures. In a broader sense they appear to have been the men who helped transplant Christian culture in the new world.

The book is carefully printed and edited, has seven excellent illustrations, a full bibliography, and the notes are placed at the end to keep from distracting the casual reader.

CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA

University of Texas

The Military and Political Career of José Joaquín de Herrera, 1792-1854. By Thomas Ewing Cotner. [Latin American Studies, Volume VII, of the University of Texas Institute of Latin American Studies.] (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1949. Pp. ix, 336.)

For a long time José Joaquín de Herrera has been known to the casual history of nineteenth-century Mexico for just one thing. In the turbulent age that followed the winning of Mexican independence the country had to go three decades before it could come up with a president capable of finishing out his elected term. Herrera was that man and thereby has hung his claim to fame. Not much, it would seem, but for its day scarcely less a feat than the more spectacular ones of men who did not hold their jobs as well as Herrera did.

In its own way this doctoral dissertation by Mr. Cotner has a claim to fame. Apparently it is the first biography of Herrera in any language, although there has been plentiful mention of him in connection with such things as the Mexican War. It is fitting that this work should have been done by someone from Texas, for Herrera was disposed to leave Texas with her independence and maintain conciliatory attitudes toward the United States on all questions. His first turn at the presidency, 1844-1845, came to a sudden end because of his unwelcome dispositions toward the Texas affair. He returned to begin and finish his full term, 1848-1851.

Mr. Cotner has produced a valuable piece of work on Herrera. He has utilized much source material and presented the essential facts of Herrera's career in a generally fine historical monograph which does not fail to eulogize the one public Mexican figure of the age who could bear the praise in good grace.

One major criticism and a few minor ones are in order. The major one has to do with the author's general approach to the question of the Church. While this attitude is discernible throughout the book, it is particularly evident in Chapter XI which bears the title "Religion, Education, and General Progress." It is again the old "double-standard" approach so often noted in works dealing with this difficult subject. It simply presumes that the Church is always wrong and its opponents always right. It has little or no criticism for the patent rascality of so many Mexican figures who badgered, bossed, and stole from the Church whenever the opportunity presented itself. It is somehow taken for granted that there is no such a thing as justice when it is the question of a liberal government handling the Church. Rather, it assumes that there can be no injustice as long as the Church is the victim.

For example, on page 289 the author gives Herrera's stand on the Church question. "For the most part the Herrera administration supported the program of the Church. President Herrera hoped for a mutually beneficial relationship between church and state. He had a great respect for property rights and made no effort to tax away the wealth of the church or to expropriate its property. Instead, the government actually paid installments on the loans made by the church during the recent war." There follows a quotation from Herrera to substantiate this estimate. But the point is that the author consistently in dealing with the recurring theme of stealing from the Church has only criticism for the Church and none for the men who stole or the principle (or lack of it) which makes all such operations permissable under the slogan of "liberalism." Herrera, hardly a "clerical," knew injustice when he saw it and quite clearly neither tolerated it nor practiced it.

By contrast with the standard by which the Church is always judged to be wrong is the attitude, at least tacit, toward various minority groups ruling Mexico by pressure. For example, in telling of the activities of Masonic minorities in forcing the resignation of the government of Apodaca (p. 32) there is no comment or condemnation. If the ever-evil clerical party had worked the pressure, the comment would have been full and merciless.

In referring to the reaction of the Mexican clergy to the restored liberal constitution of 1812 which resulted from the Riego Revolution of 1820, Cotner gives no credit for any sentiment among the clergy higher than selfish fear of losing their privileges (p. 32). It is always a "clerical plot." "Its success (i.e., the radical revolution) would have meant their undoing." And two sentences later, "the Spanish *cortes* had already shown its hostility to the Church. . . ." Must Catholic clergy, under pain of condemnation, embrace radical revolutions which show their hostility to the Church just to avoid being labeled "reactionary"?

Cotner gives, without indicating his source, the information that Church properties in 1850 were valued at 300 million pesos (p. 278). Cuevas (who adorns Cotner's bibliography) made a far more extensive and exhaustive study of this question and concluded that the gross value never was over fifty million. Perhaps Cuevas is wrong but it should not be presumed that he is not right.

A few minor criticisms. There must be something that can be done with the involved and tiresome genealogies which often introduce us to biographical monographs. Perhaps an appendix, duly noted, would do the work. It is a somewhat discouraging introduction to interesting reading. Cotner's work might also be criticized for the arrangement of its titles at the top of each page. All the way through, the top of the left-hand page reads "The University of Texas" and the right-hand page reads "José Joaquín de Herrera." This device serves to advertise the University and Herrera but gives no help for one who would like to know at a glance what chapter he is reading. The book is paper-bound and well printed.

ROBERT J. WELCH

State University of Iowa

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The managing editor of the *REVIEW* sailed for Europe on April 22 with the Holy Year pilgrimage of the Archdiocese of Washington. During the time that he was abroad he did further research for the life of Cardinal Gibbons on which he has been working for the past five years. On May 8 he attended a lecture given by Monsignor Giuseppe Monticone, general archivist of the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide in Rome, in which the archivist explained to the graduate students in church history of the Gregorian University and the other guests the various series in the vast documentary collections of which he is the custodian. The archives of the Propaganda are especially important for the American Church since most of the materials for its history up to 1908 are housed in the spacious rooms of the old Urban College of the Propaganda at 48 Piazza di Spagna. Here three or four important documents for the Gibbons biography were obtained through the kindness of Monsignor Monticone. Three weeks later Father Ellis called at the generalate of the Sulpicians at 6 Rue du Regard, Paris, where he made inquiry of Father Pierre Boissard, the superior general, concerning possible letters of Gibbons in the Sulpician archives and was rewarded with three letters of the cardinal to the Sulpician superiors. On June 18 in London he visited the Church of St. Mary of the Angels, Bayswater, where he was able to get copies of thirty-one letters from various American prelates to Cardinal Manning among the Manning Papers which are kept here at the English motherhouse of the Oblates of St. Charles. Among these letters were five from Cardinal Gibbons, six from Bishop John J. Keane, nine from Archbishop Corrigan of New York, and one or more letters from a number of other American bishops.

During his time in Europe Father Ellis visited some of the more important Catholic institutions of higher learning such as the Gregorian University and American College in Rome, the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart in Milan, the Catholic University of Fribourg in Switzerland, the Catholic Institute of Paris, the Catholic University of Louvain, St. Edmund's College, Ware, St. Mary's College, Oscott, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, All Hallows College, Dublin, and St. Jarlath's College, Tuam. He spent five days in western Ireland where he visited Ballinrobe in County Mayo, the village to which the Gibbons family returned from Baltimore in 1837 and where the future cardinal spent his boyhood years. The site whereon there stood the family residence in Bridge Street, the ruins of the old parish church where Gibbons served Mass as a boy, the site of the school he attended in the Cornmarket, and the graves of his father and sister in Partry cemetery all helped to render more vivid the scenes of the cardinal's life in Ireland between 1837 and

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1853. The last day before sailing on June 20 was spent at the University of Cambridge where, it is interesting to note, there are now five Catholic houses of study, namely, St. Edmund's House for diocesan priests, founded in 1896, Lady Margaret Pole House for Catholic women, and a house each for the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Benedictines.

The attention of our readers is again called to the note on the May 17 address of President Truman on the occasion of the publication of the first volume of the papers of Thomas Jefferson. [REVIEW, XXXVI (July, 1950), 235]. The request of the President that the National Historical Publications Commission investigate the possibility of publishing the papers of other leaders in American life is interpreted by the commission to include the papers of American religious leaders. Therefore, anyone having suggestions or comments concerning the papers of American Catholic leaders should submit them to Dr. Philip M. Hamer, Secretary, National Historical Publications Commission, The National Archives, Washington 25, D. C.

The New York Public Library and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin are collaborating in a project to microfilm important labor papers. Other libraries are subscribing for the films.

October 20 of this year will mark the eightieth anniversary of the suspension of the Vatican Council. Up to the present no great collection of letters or individual diaries of the American prelates who participated has been utilized in telling its story. Monographs have been written on such aspects of the council as American press reaction to it and the American participation in its proceedings, but the more intimate story of the part played by the ecclesiastics from the United States has not yet been told in its entirety. This fact is illustrated by some fragmentary records kept by James Roosevelt Bayley, then Bishop of Newark, who acted as secretary to the American group. These have been preserved between the pages of his register of the council entitled, *Eminentissimi et reverendissimi S.E.R. cardinales reverendissimi domini patriarchae primates archiepiscopi episcopi abbates nullius diocesis supremi ordinum regularium moderatores quibus jus aut privilegium est sedendi in Oecumenico Concilio Vaticano* (Romae: Ex typographia reverendae Camerae Apostolicae, 1869. 78 pp.). Over and above the listings of names of members or proposed members of deputations these notes mention, although briefly, seven meetings of the six American archbishops and thirty-nine bishops at the American College between December 6, 1869, and January 23, 1870. They gathered to agree on policy as well as to arrange for advising with other national groups. Archbishop Alemany of San Francisco, for example, whom Bishop Ullathorne of Birmingham thought "the shrewdest man in the Council," consulted with Spanish and Italian bishops on their canonical relations with pastors. Archbishops Purcell, Alemany, and McCloskey were designated to contact the English-speaking prelates present in the interest of concerted action. On December 13, the week before the election of the strategically important deputation *de Fide*, they resolved, "to adhere to our ticket," and secondly, "not to vote in the appointment of the Deputation ad fidem for any name of the General Committee appointed by the Holy Father." Nonetheless, four of that committee *de Postulatis* were elected, including Archbishop Spalding of Baltimore. The only other American member of the deputation *de Fide* which guided the question of infallibility through the council was Alemany. Shortly after this ballot the Americans generously voted to admit to their own deliberations the procurator of the absent Bishop Thomas L. Grace, O.P., of St. Paul, the young Father John Ireland, and Abbot Boniface Wimmer, O.S.B., of St. Vincent's Abbey, Latrobe, Pennsylvania. Moreover, a committee was appointed to see what could be done to bring the question of the status of a "procurator" before the council. This problem ultimately brought on considerable discussion in the council itself, where it was decided that procurators might be present, but could neither speak nor vote. Thus in silence did the future Archbishop of St. Paul make his debut in Roman officialdom.

All in all, even these incomplete records, now preserved in the Department of Archives and Manuscripts of the Catholic University of America, would lead one to suspect if not a greater contribution to the Vatican Council than had been supposed on the part of the Americans, at least a participation in their first appearance on the ecumenical stage which had much of the self-assurance of a mature hierarchical body.

The use of the writings of Thomas Jefferson in the polemics about the separation of Church and State in the United States points up the lack of published documents dealing with the Catholic colonists and leaders during the early federal period. The opinions of the Carrolls, Thomas Fitzsimons, and other Catholics of the time would add new light on the Catholic understanding of our fundamental laws. Rights and the opinion concerning those rights were surely not determined by majority vote. The existence of a Catholic group who were fully accepted citizens is sometimes overlooked in generalizations about the origins of our political institutions.

Apparently no complete file of the *Western Tablet* (1852-1853), the Chicago Catholic newspaper edited by Bishop James O. Van de Velde, S.J., during his short career in Chicago, can be found. The incomplete files indicate that it would be an invaluable document in the history of nativism in Chicago at that time. Much of the newspaper was written by Bishop Van de Velde himself.

Students of the history of the Church in the United States who like to think of their special field as part of the history of the Universal Church will not be too encouraged by the recent volume (1949) of the Fliche-Martin twenty-four volume series, *Histoire de l'église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours,* which brings the story beyond our national beginnings. *La crise revolutionnaire, 1789-1846* by Jean Leflon of the Catholic Institute of Paris devotes but two paragraphs, one half a page, to the Church in the United States. Within that space wrong dates are given for the establishment of the Dioceses of Cincinnati and St. Louis (1819 for 1821 and 1823 for 1826). Nine strangely assorted items on the American Church are listed in the bibliography but with the glaring omission of any of the works of the late Monsignor Peter Guilday. In the September 16, 1933, issue of *America* (XLIX, 558-559) Guilday had lamented this very same type of historiography. In an article entitled, "American Catholic History and European Historians," speaking of works by Josef Schmidlin, L. A. Veit, Abbé Lugan, and Father Premoli, he concluded:

> These four volumes are symptomatic of the recent blundering which should not be allowed to pass unchallenged. Granted that much of this blundering is of a minor nature, the fact remains that European scholars have too many excellent historical treatises by American Catholic scholars to be excused any longer from mistakes in dates, names of persons and places, ecclesiastical geography, our Catholic institutional factors, spiritual and educational movements, and even our political tendencies.

The failure of Leflon to treat the Catholic Church of the United States adequately likewise did not escape the notice of a recent reviewer in the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* (XLV, 298). Although the recent volume alluded to above blunders more by omission than by commission there would still seem to be a real lack of vital contact between American and French scholarship in this field which might well be remedied before the two further volumes projected on the Church in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are published.

The intensive training program in the preservation and administration of archives was held in Washington for the sixth time from June 12 to July 7 under the sponsorship of American University, the National Archives, the Library of Congress, and the Maryland Hall of Records. Catholic interest was again evident in the enrollment of the following: Thomas E. Connolly of the chancery office of the Diocese of Reno and a student of canon law at the Catholic University of America, Leo C. Cullen, S.J., of the California Province of his society, Vincent de P. McMurry of St. Charles College, Catonsville, Raymond J. Teller, a student of St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, whose attendance was sponsored by the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, George Zorn, S.J., assistant archivist at Woodstock College, and George Hagmaier, C.S.P., of St. Paul's College, Washington. On the afternoon of June 30 the entire class of twenty-six visited the Department of Archives and Manuscripts of the

Catholic University of America. Many of them also attended a lecture before the workshop on college administration at the University on "The Archives of a Catholic College or University," by Henry J. Browne, archivist of the University, on the evening of June 12.

American Catholics read with interest Eric von Kuehnelt-Leddihn's article, "The American Catholics Revisited. The American Imprint on the Life of the Church," in the London *Tablet* of April 22, 1950, and the lively correspondence which it set off in subsequent issues of that weekly. Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn had a number of things to say which were altogether true of American Catholic life, but in other particulars his observations left much to be desired by way of an exact picture of present conditions obtaining in the Church of the United States.

Volume XXXVII of the *Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Historical Society contains the record of the meeting of October 25, 1949, the address of the previous meeting, "American Catholicism's Influence on Europe," by Joseph N. Moody of Cathedral College, New York, the text of John Perry Pritchett's three Meehan Lectures for 1949 before the society on the subject, "Catholic Pioneering in the Northwest," and John K. Sharp's article, "The Brooklyn Catholic Historical Society and Its Founder, Marc F. Vallette."

In July the recently organized Academy of California Church History began publication of the *Academy Scrapbook,* which will have eleven issues a year. The first number has thirty-two pages of brief articles, notes, and illustrations. The subscription price is $3.00 a year. Inquiries should be addressed to the office of the academy, Box 1668, Fresno, California.

The History Teachers' Club of the University of Notre Dame devoted its annual meeting on July 7-9 to a discussion of the status of the history teacher in the present-day high school. Among the problems discussed were the effects of television on high school teaching, the training of the high school history teacher, and the recent efforts to substitute a social studies course in place of the traditional history course. The new president of the club, elected at the meeting, is Brother Kenan Judge, C.S.C., of Cathedral High School, Indianapolis. Sister Mary de Sales, S.N.D., of Notre Dame High School, Toledo, was re-elected editor of the club bulletin.

The annual report of the Commission for the Catholic Missions among the Colored People and the Indians for 1950 gives some interesting figures on the growth of these missions in the United States during the last half century. In 1900 there were approximately 145,000 Catholic Negroes in this country, whereas today the number is approximately 380,000. This represents an increase of 160% during the half century as compared with an increase of only 70% in the total Negro population. This growth is reflected in the increased number of churches, schools, orphanages, and institutions of various kinds for the Negroes under Catholic auspices. The growth among the Catholic Indians has also been gratifying. In 1900 there were approximately 45,000 souls, whereas at present they number 96,959. The story of the American Negro and Indian missions can be read in more detail in the annual report entitled, *Our Negro and Indian Missions,* published by the commission at 2021 H Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

The twenty-seventh *Report* (Baltimore, 1950) of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland contains a check list, edited by Felix Reichmann, of German printing in Maryland from 1768 to 1950.

The annual volume of essays by the students of Marygrove College, Detroit, is devoted this year to pronouncements of Pope Pius XII. It is entitled: *In the Service of Truth.* Besides the seventeen essays there is a very useful listing by exact date of the encyclicals, allocutions, radio addresses, etc. of the present Pope from his first radio address of March 3, 1939, to the encyclical *Anni Sacri* of March 11, 1950.

The first two numbers of a new quarterly, *Revista de História,* have appeared in São Paulo. Its policy will be to publish articles in all fields of history and not simply, as the existing Brazilian historical journals now do, on the history of Brazil. The managing editor of the *Revista* is the professor of ancient and mediaeval history in the University of São Paulo, Dr. E. Simões de Paula. The University of São Paulo is rapidly forging ahead as the outstanding center of historical research in Brazil, and it is the only institution of higher learning in the country that offers a regular program of graduate work in history.

The Second Conference of Western Latin Americanists, which this year was devoted exclusively to Brazil, was held at Stanford University on May 29 and 30. Over a hundred delegates, representing nearly all the best-known Brazilianists in the country, were in attendance. The Brazilian ambassador, Dr. Maurício Nabuco, and his sister, Miss Carolina Nabuco, were guests of honor. Dr. Manoel Cardozo represented the Catholic University of America. The program was divided into three sections: Brazil and its possibilities, Brazilian studies in the United States, and United States-Brazilian relations. The meetings were generally stimulating, and they reflected in a convincing manner the present high level in this country of scholarly achievement in the various fields of Brazilian studies. Professor Ronald Hilton, who was largely responsible for the success of the conference, deserves to be congratulated for his work.

In an article published in the weekly *L'Opinione* (Vol. I, no. 21), Giuseppe de' Luigi refers to the materials in the State Archive of Naples of interest for Brazilian history ("La storia brasiliana nei documenti riservati dell'archivio napoletano"). These are dispatches of unusual interest, which, Sig. de'Luigi says, have never been used by historians, sent to Naples by the ministers in Rio of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies over a period of thirty years beginning in 1839.

The Second Consultation of the Commission of History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History will be held in October in Santiago, Chile. Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, of the University of Pennsylvania, is the American member on the commission.

Many readers of the *Catholic Historical Review* will no doubt remember the considerable interest that was raised in this country early last year over the reputed discovery, in the Mexican state of Guerrero at a place called Ichcateopan, of the remains of Cuauhtémoc, the last of the Aztec rulers, who was captured on August 13, 1521, when Tenochtitlan (the future Mexico City) fell to the Spaniards under Cortés, and who was executed by the conquerors on February 28, 1525. The Mexican press took advantage of what was obviously a sensational find, and echoes of these extraordinary happenings were heard in the United States.

The story, as it was then told, concerned certain documents attributed to the Franciscan Fray Toribio de Benavente, better known as Motolinia, which gave account of the burial of the celebrated Aztec leader. As the result of a preliminary investigation conducted by Miss Eulalia Guzmán, it was decided to explore the area under the high altar of the church of Ichcateopan. This led to the discovery of an opening in the rock where human remains, together with a number of objects, largely of metal and stone, were found. An inscription on a copper plate seemed to make clear at first sight, that here was, in fact, the final resting place of Cuauhtémoc.

In view of the possible significance of the findings, the National Institute of Anthropology and History of Mexico City, at the request of the Secretary of Public Education, appointed a commission of experts, composed of Silvio Zavala, Eusebio Dávalos, Javier Romero, Carlos Margáin, Alfredo Bishop, Luis Tercero Urrutia, Roberto Tapia, and Luis Limón, to weigh the evidence. After a careful examination of the human remains, the manuscripts, and the inscription, the commission decided that there was nothing to justify the earlier optimism, and in no uncertain terms characterized the whole thing as a hoax.

The findings of the commission were subsequently published in the *Revista mexicana de estudios antropológicos* (Vol. XI). In order to bring them to the attention of a wider public they have been reprinted under the title, *El Hallazo de Ichcateopan dictamen que rinde la comisión designada por acuerdo del C. Secretario de Educación Pública, en relación con las investigaciones y exploración realizadas en Ichcateopan, Guerrero*

(México, D. F., 1950). The report is carefully done and lavishly illustrated, and should serve to put an end to a great deal of gossip.

The latest historical archives to be organized in Portugal, the Arquivo Distrital de Angra do Heroísmo, Azores, has recently been opened to scholars under the able direction of Dr. Manuel C. Baptista de Lima, formerly the librarian of the National Assembly in Lisbon. It promises to become one of the largest and richest archives in the country. For church history alone, the holdings of the Arquivo Distrital are remarkably extensive. These include: (1) the papers of the extinct convents of the district of Angra, notably those of the city of Angra (São Francisco, Graça, Santo António dos Capuchos, Esperança, São Gonçalo, São Sebastião, and Conceição), of Praia da Vitória (São Francisco), and of Velas, São Jorge (São Francisco), or a total of about 500 codices; and (2) the papers of the Bishops of Angra—the see was created in 1534—and of the cathedral chapter, or a total of more than 30,000 manuscripts. The work of processing the collections has already begun. Thus far 600 codices have been catalogued, and 26,695 manuscripts have been classified. The see of Angra was for centuries in intimate contact with virtually every part of the old Portuguese Empire, in South America, Africa, and Asia. These contacts are inevitably reflected in some of the papers that have been saved from destruction. The *Catholic Historical Review* is happy to register the creation of the new research center, and extends to its director as also to the public authorities responsible for the undertaking its best wishes for a prosperous future. The first issue of the archives' *Boletim* appeared last year.

All students of church history will echo the plea of John Brady, writing in *Studies* for June, that the Catholic Record Society, established in June, 1911, through the initiative of Professor James MacCaffrey of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, be not allowed to die. The volumes which the society has published of the sources for Irish Church history have more than proved the worth of such a project. But as Father Brady, historian of the Diocese of Meath, states, the society is presently in a precarious condition by reason of high printing costs and lack of support from the membership. The future of the society rests, according to Father Brady, with the Irish people. "They can keep it alive by their active support or allow it to lapse by their indifference" (p. 218).

The first semi-annual number of the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (Faber and Faber Ltd., 24 Russell Square, London, W.C.1. $3.50 per annum) appeared in June. It contains ten articles, listed in our Periodical Literature, and five reviews of important works. As was previously announced, contributions on church history and liturgy are invited from members of all Christian denominations. The Reverend C. W. Dugmore

(Faculty of Theology, The University, Manchester 13, England) is the editor. The first issue has much material that will be of direct interest to Catholic students of church history.

The May issue of the *Journal of Politics* is devoted to articles on the British Labour Party.

Father Georg Schurhammer, S.J., of the Jesuit *Generalizia*, Rome, after many years of research, has finished his life of St. Francis Xavier. Father Schurhammer is one of the outstanding historians of the Society of Jesus in the Far East, and the publication of his latest work is being eagerly awaited.

In the first number of the *Theologische Revue* for 1950, Berthold Altaner writes a note and lists bibliography on the gnostic and hermetical manuscripts found in Egypt last year. The discovery represents forty-two papyrus manuscripts, all written in Coptic. They are of great importance for both the history of religion and for the study of early Coptic.

The fourth volume to appear in the series "Bibliothèque spirituelle du chrétien lettré" is *L'imitation de Jésus-Christ* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 450 francs). It presents the Latin text with the French translation of F. de Lamennais. Père M. D. Chenu, O.P., writes a thought-provoking foreword of thirty pages. Abbé Omer Englebert is the editor of this twenty-volume series presenting the great texts of Christian mysticism.

With an *imprimatur* of March 11, 1950, fascicle 150 (Wyclif-Zwinglianisme) brings the great *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* to an end. The name of the late Monsignor Amann remains on the title page as the editor. The fifteen double volumes are a great credit to their far-sighted publishers, Letouzey et Ané.

The *REVIEW* congratulates the Most Reverend Patrick J. McCormick, Rector of the Catholic University of America, upon his episcopal consecration, which took place on September 21. His titular see is Atenia, modern Kirili, in ancient Pisidia, and his appointment includes that of auxiliary bishop in the Archdiocese of Washington. He will continue as rector of the University. Bishop McCormick's field of specialization is the history of education.

Annabelle M. Melville, professor of history in St. Joseph College, Emmitsburg, Maryland, is writing a life of John Carroll, first Archbishop of Baltimore. Mrs. Melville would appreciate any information which readers of the *REVIEW* may have concerning letters of the archbishop in private collections.

James E. Roohan of Yale University has been appointed assistant professor of American history in the State University of Iowa. Mr. Roohan is at present working on a study dealing with American Catholic social thought from the end of the Civil War to the late nineteenth century.

William Gwinn, graduate assistant in American history at the University of Notre Dame, has been appointed instructor in history at Nazareth College, Rochester, New York.

Edward V. Cardinal, C.S.V., director of the Sheil School of Adult Education in Chicago, and Friedrich Engel-Janosi, professor of modern European history in the Catholic University of America, represented the American Catholic Historical Association at the International Historical Congress in Paris which was held from August 28 to September 3. Professor Engel-Janosi read a paper on "L'Autriche et le Conclave de 1903." Professor Oscar Halecki of Fordham University likewise contributed a paper on "The Leading Ideas of Slavic Europe in the Renaissance Period." Robert F. Byrnes of Rutgers University, whose article appears in the present issue of the *REVIEW,* participated in another of the sessions with a paper on "Russian and Western European Conservative Thought in the Nineteenth Century." In addition to these men other members of the Association who were in attendance at the congress included Joseph N. Moody of Cathedral College, New York, Francis X. Glimm of Immaculate Conception Seminary, Huntington, and Matthew A. Fitzsimons of the University of Notre Dame. There was a special ecclesiastical history section of the congress which met under the chairmanship of Professor Augustin Fliche of the University of Montpellier wherein it was agreed by those present that a useful study could be made on a diocesan basis of Catholic life in the seventeenth century. An outstanding event of the congress for the Catholics in attendance was the celebration of a Mass in the chapel of the Sorbonne where the Most Reverend Henri Chappoulie, Bishop of Angers, was the celebrant and the sermon was preached by René d'Ouince, S.J., editor of *Etudes.* Mass is celebrated only once a year in this chapel which was built by Cardinal Richelieu and in which he is buried.

Manoel Cardozo has been appointed consultant in Luso-Brazilian studies of the Library of Congress by Luther Evans, the librarian. The appointment is for one year.

The Reverend William J. Coleman, M.M., who recently completed his doctoral dissertation in Ibero-American history at the Catholic University of America, has been transferred by his superiors to Chile.

During the absence of Dorothy Woodward, who is on leave, Madaline Nichols, formerly of the Florida State University, has been teaching at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque.

Father Mathias Kiemen, O.F.M., a graduate student in Ibero-American history at the Catholic University of America, has been awarded a fellowship by the Instituto Para a Alta Cultura of Lisbon to permit him to work in Portuguese archives on his doctoral dissertation, "The Indian Policy of Portugal in the Old State of Maranhão." The grant is for the academic year 1950-1951.

Colman J. Barry, O.S.B., of St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota, has been awarded a Penfield Scholarship by the Catholic University of America for research in Europe during the present academic year. Father Barry is the author of *The Catholic University of America 1903-1909. The Rectorship of Denis J. O'Connell* (Washington, 1950), and is presently working on a history of the German problem in the Catholic Church of the United States.

The Reverend Francis A. Glenn has been appointed archivist and historiographer of the Diocese of Pittsburgh.

Sister Regina Mercedes Rigney, professor of history in the College of Mount Saint Vincent for the past twenty-five years, died after a brief illness on April 23. Her graduate degrees were earned at Fordham University. She distinguished herself as a stimulating teacher who inspired a number of her students to go on for graduate work in history. Sister Regina Mercedes was for many years a member of the American Catholic Historical Association.

Thomas F. O'Connor, associate professor of history in St. Louis University, died suddenly on September 15 at the age of fifty-one. Mr. O'Connor had just returned to St. Louis the day previous to his death from Boise, Idaho, where he had made a survey of materials for the history of the Diocese of Boise at the request of Bishop Edward J. Kelly. Mr. O'Connor took his bachelor's degree in 1922 at the College of the Holy Cross and a master of arts degree in history at Syracuse University in 1927. For the years 1931-1934 he was a graduate fellow in history at St. Louis University where he worked under the late Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J. He taught at various times in Little Rock College, St. Michael's College, Winooski Park, Vermont, Fordham University, and had been a member of the Department of History of St. Louis University since September, 1949, where he gave courses in American Catholic history. In 1941 he was appointed historiographer of the Diocese of Syracuse by Bishop Walter A. Foery and at the time of his death he had completed a good portion of the history of that diocese. He likewise served as historiographer of the Archdiocese of New York from 1944 to 1948. Mr. O'Connor had a wide acquaintance among historians and was faithful in attendance at the annual meetings of a number of historical societies. At Oklahoma City in April of this year he was on the program of the Mississippi Valley

Historical Association and he had accepted an invitation to act as a discussion leader at one of the sessions of the American Catholic Historical Association at its meeting in Chicago this coming Christmas week. He was a frequent contributor of articles, reviews, and bibliographical items to this *REVIEW*, the *Historical Bulletin, Mid-America, The Americas,* and the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review.* In recognition of his attainments in the field of American Catholic history St. Bonaventure University conferred upon him the honorary degree of doctor of laws in June, 1947, and in 1946 he was elected President of the American Catholic Historical Association.

Mr. O'Connor possessed an amazing amount of knowledge of the history of the Church of the United States and there was scarcely a section of the country in which he could not tell the names of the original priests, the first parishes, as well as the topography of the Church's early settlements. He was a genial, kindly man who won the regard and affection of all who knew him. Our own Association and its quarterly journal had few better friends and his presence will be sorely missed when we gather in Chicago during Christmas week for the annual meeting which he always so much enjoyed.

On July 19 the Archdioceses of Cincinnati, New Orleans, and New York celebrated the centennial of their erection as metropolitan sees by Pius IX. On the same day in 1850 the Pope erected the Dioceses of Savannah, St. Paul, and Wheeling, and on May 31 of that year the Holy See established the Diocese of Nesqually, which in 1907 was changed to Seattle. These will be the last diocesan centennials in the United States until 1953, when ten American sees will mark their one hundredth anniversary, the large number occasioned by the request made by the First Plenary Council of Baltimore for new ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The commemorations being held in honor of the centenaries in New York, Cincinnati, and New Orleans recall the important positions held by the occupants of these sees in 1850. John Baptist Purcell at Cincinnati represented the new Middle West, where amidst the rich opportunities of the Mississippi Valley and Great Lakes regions native immigrants and European immigrants were laying the foundation for modern centers of Catholicity. John Hughes in New York represented the eastern immigrant groups, who have dominated the history of the Church in the country east of the Allegheny Mountains, while Anthony Blanc at New Orleans represented the Catholicity of the lower Mississippi and the Gulf regions, which was in origin French and Spanish. It was noticeable, however, that these three, together with two other metropolitans of the country, Archbishops Peter Richard Kenrick of St. Louis and Francis Blanchet of Oregon City, were foreign-born. Only Archbishop Samuel Eccleston of Baltimore was American-born among the metropolitans in 1850, and he was succeeded the following year by Irish-born Francis Patrick Kenrick. This fact symbolized the change in the character of the American Catholic community from a small native-born group to a larger but dominantly immigrant body.

The Sisters of Notre Dame, whose motherhouse and generalate, long at Muelhausen, are now in Rome, are celebrating the centenary of their founding. Their provincial or district convents in the United States are at Cleveland, Covington, Toledo, and Los Angeles. The community also has convents in Belgium, England, Germany, Holland, Italy, Spain, India, Java, and Brazil. There are 3063 sisters in the congregation occupied in 276 institutions. To commemorate the jubilee an educational institute was held in Rome, April 11-25. A centenary souvenir, printed by the Vatican Press, gives a survey in pictures of the congregation's multiple activities.

On September 29, 1850, Pope Pius IX restored the hierarchy in England by the apostolic brief, *Universalis ecclesiae,* when the Archdiocese of Westminster was erected with twelve suffragan sees and Nicholas Wiseman was named first Archbishop of Westminster and a member of the College of Cardinals. The centennial was observed during the last days of September and the first week of October with elaborate celebrations in London at which six cardinals were in attendance. In this connection our readers will find the pastoral letter of Bernard Cardinal Griffin of Trinity Sunday, June 4, a notable document on the progress and growth of the Church in England during the last one hundred years.

Documents:

Avila a comienzos del siglo XIV. Maria del Pilar Laguzzi (*Quadernos de historia de España,* XI).—Bishop Fleming's Visitation of Newfoundland, 1834-1835. Thomas F. O'Connor (*Americas,* July).—Salzmann to Wisbauer Letter, January 1, 1852. (*Salesianum,* July).

BRIEF NOTICES

Bayley, Charles C. *The Formation of the German College of Electors in the Mid-Thirteenth Century.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1949. Pp. 237. $4.00.)

The author of this very scholarly study has traced the various roots of the German Electoral College as it appeared in 1257. To this end he has divided his enquiry into three parts and appended an epilogue.

He begins with an examination of the political background covering the years 1236-1256. In this brief, but masterful survey the author discusses the internal history of Germany showing the relations of the various factions and the endeavors of papal diplomacy to gain and retain control. Of particular interest is the discussion of William of Holland wherein the king emerges as a figure of stature, worthy of a better opinion than has been accorded to him. Equally lucid and enlightening is the second section which deals with the diplomatic negotiations leading to the double election. In the third part, the main section of the work, emphasis is placed on the constitutional aspect of the German elections from 1198-1257 as well as the implications of the bull *Qui coelum.*

From this study three conclusions emerge: First, "the rise of the college of the seven electors was an empirical process, not to be explained in terms of a clearly formulated constitutional theory. Secondly, the potent influence of canon law in molding the forms of the election. Thirdly, the evidence available seems to show that considerable confusion prevailed regarding the constitutional status and actual powers conferred by each of the successive stages in the creation of a king of the Romans. It is possible to demonstrate a considerable uncertainty and confusion of thought regarding the German elections . . . which tends to support the supposition that political thought, in the absence of broadly accepted basic principles, was in the process of evolution out of actual practice." (Ulrich Stephan Allers)

Baynes, Norman H. and H. St. L. B. Moss (Eds.) *Byzantium: An Introduction to East Roman Civilization.* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. xxxi, 436. 48 pl., 2 maps. $7.00.)

In a series of essays by specialists this volume gives the general reader a bird's eye view of the various phases of Byzantine history. Baynes' introduction shows why the history of the Byzantine Empire should begin with the founding of Constantinople, while in Chapter I, Moss summarizes that history to 1204 and Diehl to 1453. Then follow chapters on economic life and public finances by Andreades, the Church by Grégoire, monasticism by Delehaye, art by Diehl, education by G. Buckler, literature by Marshall, language by Dawkins, administration by Ensslin, Byzantium and Islam by Vasiliev, Byzantine inheritance in southeastern Europe by Miller, Byzantium and the Slavs by Runciman, Byzantine inheritance in Russia by Meyendorff and Baynes. The sketches are all well done and the book makes an excellent introduction to Byzantine studies, though objection can be made to Grégoire's account of the Monophysite struggle and the eastern schism. The volume is beautifully illustrated, has a good bibliography, index, and maps. (MARTIN J. HIGGINS)

BEAZLEY, C. RAYMOND. *The Dawn of Modern Geography.* Three volumes. (New York: Peter Smith. 1950. Pp. xvi, 538; xix, 651; xvi, 638. $35.00.)

Volume 1, *A History of Exploration and Geographical Science from the Conversion of the Roman Empire to A.D. 900, With an Account of the Achievements and Writings of the Christian, Arab, and Chinese Travellers and Students,* was originally published by John Murray of London in 1897. It was followed in 1901 by the second volume, *A History of Exploration and Geographical Science from the Close of the Ninth to the Middle of the Thirteenth Century* (c. A.D. 900-1260). The third volume, *A History of Exploration and Geographical Science from the Middle of the Thirteenth to the Early Years of the Fifteenth Century* (c. A.D. 1260-1420), was published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in 1906. The result of long and careful research, this work has been considered for many years the standard general treatment of the subject in English. It has now been reprinted without change by permission of the original publishers. For those who are unacquainted with this monumental work, the contents are fairly well summarized by the lengthy titles of the separate volumes. Major emphasis is placed on records of travel and exploration, illustrated by copies of contemporary maps, and the associated historical events as they have resulted in the acquisition of geographical knowledge. Especially in the first two volumes much space is also devoted to the theories and speculations of the time relative to earth science. (KENNETH BERTRAND)

BLACK, JEANETTE D. AND WILLIAM G. ROELKER (Eds.) *A Rhode Island Chaplain in the Revolution. Letters of Ebenezer David to Nicholas Brown, 1775-1778.* (Providence: Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati. 1949. Pp. xxxi, 82. $5.00.)

In this little volume, impressive in format, William Roelker of the Rhode Island Historical Society and Jeanette Black of the John Carter Brown Library present and edit twenty letters, hitherto unpublished, gleaned from the Brown Papers preserved in that depository. Their author was Ebenezer David, a Seventh Day Baptist minister ordained in 1775, a chaplain in the Continental Army in 1776 and 1777, and a member of the medical department of the army at Lancaster for two months before his death in March, 1777. Addressed to Nicholas Brown, a substantial and influential merchant of Providence, they are the testimony of an eye-witness to the siege of Boston, the defense of the Delaware River below Philadelphia against Howe, Valley Forge, and other incidents of the War for Independence. They include news, reports, rumors, gossip, the coming and going of individuals and groups, appraisal of leaders, censure, and forecasts of developments. While they add nothing of moment to what we know from other sources about the events they touch upon, they familiarize us with the activities and problems of a zealous chaplain who grieved over the "Prophanety in our Camp." Nowhere does he reveal why he abandoned the ministry to enter the medical profession. (Charles H. Metzger)

Blegen, Theodore C. *The Land Lies Open.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1949. Pp. x, 246. $3.00.)

The writing of local history can often become bogged down in a mass of facts, sometimes in a chronicle of significant details with little interpretation. Dr. Blegen, however, presents no lifeless, colorless story of the Minnesota country which in 1949 observed its territorial centennial. He has brought together in nineteen chapters, some rewritten from previously published articles, an episodic account of the exploration and development of this upper Mississippi land. His view of local history is the intensive, penetrating one which seeks "to bring to life—and into focus" scenes of Minnesota's fur-trading and pioneering years. One by one, as actors on a stage, adventurers, missionaries, traders, and settlers—some famous as Father Louis Hennepin and Sieur du Lhut, other less known—relive through the historian's research their roles upon the plains until they yield to younger men as William Folwell, Ignatius Donnelly, and the Drs. Mayo. Here is sketched the search for the source of the Mississippi, the introduction of wheat, of winter dairying, and of apple growing. The beginnings of the University, told in outline (the only footnoted chapter in the book), are related with as much care as the edited diary of Jane Grout who crossed Minnesota in 1873. Putting the spotlight on persons and periods is one method of revealing the past, a justifiably dramatic one for a centennial year, but as it moves summarily from one to another much of contemporary history is left in darkness. It is to the author's credit, however, that despite these limitations he has given us in this brief, popular, and attractively bound volume a panoramic glimpse with amazing detail of Minnesota's lands through recent centuries. (Joseph L. Powers)

Bourret, F. M., *The Gold Coast, A Survey of the Gold Coast and British Togoland, 1919-1946.* [Hoover Library on War, Revolution and Peace, Publication No. 23.] (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 231. $4.00.)

American interest in the economic prosperity of so-called undeveloped areas could well be stimulated by studies such as the present volume. Based on research at the Hoover Library, the work shows meticulous selection of materials and careful judgment.

That section of West Africa known as the Gold Coast was named by Portuguese traders in the fifteenth century. The purity of the gold exported from the area to England was responsible for the introduction of the term "guinea" during the days of Charles II to indicate that its value was equivalent to twenty-one shillings, thus adding additional confusion to the terminology of British currency. Bauxite, manganese, cocoa, diamonds, and rubber made the Gold Coast still an enviable possession which passed from Portuguese to Dutch to British hands.

The value of Mother Bourret's work lies in the careful tracing of the slow evolution of some form of native expression in the colony. In the eighteenth century the slave trade reduced the natives to the status of exportable raw material. During the salutary neglect of the period of "Little Englandism," native wars gave the territory the reputation of the "white man's grave," but by 1874 the need for raw materials induced the British to assume full control over the coastal areas by annexing them as the Gold Coast Colony. To this territory was added the mandate of German Togoland in 1922. Missionary endeavor, both Catholic and Protestant, provided the stimulus for greater interest in European ideas and for the fusion of those ideas with native traditions. The growth of the cocoa industry further accelerated this development. The result was that by 1919 the Gold Coast showed the familiar pattern of mixed political institutions with economic and political discontent.

The story of the Gold Coast parallels that of Indonesia, Indo-China, and India from that point. Economic, cultural, and social change proceeded more rapidly than political changes so that World War II precipitated a crisis. The result was increased self-government and the grant of a new constitution in 1946 which gave greater native responsibility but permitted the British governor to retain control. By 1949 progress had been made in the direction of ministerial responsibility for the natives.

The work of Mother Bourret is valuable in indicating the trend of political development in Africa. It also shows the extent to which the missions provide that link of moral and spiritual values which gives meaning to the progress being made. Those interested in shaping our policy under Point Four would do well to read *The Gold Coast* for an indication as to how self-government may be eventually brought to Africa. (JAMES M. EAGAN)

Buffalo Centennial Eucharistic Congress. Edited by the Historical Committee. (Buffalo: Union and Echo Press. 1948. Pp. 318.)

On April 23, 1847, Pope Pius IX divided the Diocese of New York into three dioceses and created the new Sees of Albany and Buffalo. Bishop John Timon, C.M., was consecrated and installed in October of the same year. To observe the centennial the Diocese of Buffalo acted as host to the seven dioceses of New York State in a Eucharistic Congress, the official records and history of which are contained in this volume. The book contains the pastoral letters of Bishop O'Hara relating to the congress, a summary of the events as reported by the press of the Buffalo area, details of committee membership and liturgical observances, the complete texts of all sermons and addresses, and several pages of photographs. As a possible guide to those who might organize a similar congress, one chapter describes the planning undertaken by each committee. Because the centennial served only as the occasion for the congress, no attempt was made to commemorate any specific events of the past, or to include any history of the diocese in this volume. With the single exception, on pages 199-202, of a letter written by Bishop Timon to the central committee of the Propagation of the Faith relating his missionary activity during his first two months as bishop, the historical vaule of this book lies in its thorough reporting of the four-day congress. (Joseph G. Bailey)

Burton, Katherine. *Chaminade. Apostle of Mary.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1949. Pp. x, 249. $3.00.)

Chaminade is a warm, sympathetic life story of an ardent apostle of Mary who spent himself in an effort to regenerate Catholic life in a France overrun by godless revolutionary forces. It is a narrative of the spiritual growth and development of William Joseph Chaminade from an enthusiastic young missionary of the days of the Terror to an experienced, tried founder of two religious communities dedicated to Mary and devoted to carrying on Christian education of youth and other works of zeal. His devotion to the Mother of God was the all absorbing passion of his life; it was with her, by her, through her that he undertook and so successfully carried out the numerous tedious duties entrusted to him by ecclesiastical authorities along with his own projects. It was under her leadership that he placed the groups of lay apostles which he organized in Bordeaux to reintroduce Catholic living among the citizens. Throughout the biography the attention of the reader is constantly drawn to this singularly Marian apostolate of Chaminade, his sodalists, and his religious communities. With interest and understanding other dominant ideas of Chaminade the religious founder are presented: his unshakable determination to preserve the truly fraternal nature of the Society of Mary whose priests and lay religious, unlike those of many other communities, were joined as collaborators in the community endeavors; and his unwillingness to limit the scope of work of the society to that of education.

Mrs. Burton is quite generous in her treatment of Father Chaminade, but even while she is earnestly defending him, as in the case concerning his rights as founder of the Society of Mary, the reader does not feel that the characterization is too overdrawn. Realizing that it is impossible to appreciate Chaminade without an adequate understanding of the times in which he lived, the author, without pausing for lengthy descriptions of historic events, does give sufficient background and succeeds in impressing the reader with the deadly effectiveness of the anti-religious forces so prevalent in revolutionary France. The chapters on young Father Chaminade's dramatic and heroic labors during the Terror and the passages describing religious conditions in Bordeaux on his return there in 1800 are especially impressive. Without doubt the general reader will welcome this popular biography of the French founder of the Marianists whose members have been carrying on his apostolate in the United States for the past 100 years. (Sister Mary Carol Schroeder)

Buschbeck, E. N. *Austria.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 251. $2.50.)

Among the books published recently in the English language on Austria, the small volume of E. H. Buschbeck is, from the point of view of the historian, probably the best. The author, Director of the Museum of the

Austrian Art Treasures which have been collected during centuries by the House of Habsburg, lived for many years in England and knows, therefore, not only Austria and its past, but also England and the Anglo-Saxon mind and seems qualified to explain adequately to the English-speaking reader the Austrian problems.

The book *Austria,* certainly useful to anybody desiring to visit Austria, is on the other hand infinitely more than a guide for travellers. It introduces the reader in the first chapters to the country, its geological structure and climate and gives then a vivid description of the Austrian people, its life and its character. In the next chapters Buschbeck outlines the history of Austria, beginning with the time of the first settlement of Celtic tribes some centuries before Christ, speaking of the Roman domination and describing then, with many more details, the history of Austria during the Middle Ages and all through the modern times up to 1918. We see before us the centuries of the Holy Roman Empire, the times of the Turkish aggressions, of Maria Theresa and of Emperor Francis Joseph. The author shows how closely connected the fate of Austria was during these centuries with the entire European history and how the dynasty of Habsburg was during many generations one of the great centers of Christian, European civilizations, Vienna and Austria vital factors for the development of many peoples of Europe. Particularly in these chapters several periods of continental history, frequently less known or not fully understood in English literature, are presented in an excellent, clear survey. The struggle of the small state of Austria for its existence since 1918 and the fight against Hitlerism with its tragic end terminate the purely historical part of the book.

In the then following sketch of Austria as it exists today, Buschbeck describes the economic situation, adding interesting statistics, and outlines the present Austrian constitution and the various problems of the political parties. Very valuable and interesting is the chapter about the arts in Austria, the poetry, the Austrian Baroque and the Austrian music. An epilogue of a few pages finally mentions the days of the liberation of Austria from Hitler and tries to give an idea of the present-day hardships. "Austria is faced with the prospect of difficult years" are the last words of this very commendable book, showing that the author, conscious of the great traditions of Austria, is also well aware of the seriousness of the present situation and that an immense work has to be done to secure a better future for the Austrian people. (HENRY DE DEGENFELD-SCHONBURG)

BUTLER, H. E. *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. xxviii, 329. 15s.)

Jocelin's *Chronicle* was first printed a century ago, when it caught the imagination of Carlyle, and has since been one of the best known and most read of mediaeval chronicles. It gives an intimate picture of life in a great monastery at the end of the twelfth century, a time when observance was good though high inspiration was lacking. Jocelin had the faculty of keen observation, and his book gives one of the most vivid photographs available of ordinary monastic life of that period as seen by a monk within the cloister. Yet it has little to say of the spiritual side of the monks' life; rather it treats of the local "events" of those years, with the monks' attitude toward them, the whole being centered in the masterful figure of Abbot Samson who was the link between the community and the outside world. It is rich in incidents illustrating the legal, social, and economic customs of the feudal age.

The Latin text has been newly edited from the surviving manuscript, and each page is faced by a fluent English translation. Brief notes are given at the foot of the page and longer ones are gathered in an appendix. There is a good introduction and a map of Suffolk locating the manors and churches mentioned in the text. The reviewer's chief regret is that the editor did not break up the long text into sections, or at least give marginal topic headings.

This is the first volume to appear in a new projected series of Mediaeval Classics, prepared by scholars of the first rank for students and the more literate public. The book is excellently printed and it is to be hoped that many are wise enough to buy it. (Carleton M. Sage)

Cassirer, Ernst, Paul O. Kristeller, and John H. Randall, Jr. (Eds.). *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man. Petrarca, Valla, Ficino, Pico, Pomponazzi, Vives.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1948. Pp. viii, 405. $5.00.)

The translations presented here of one or more works by each of six writers of the Renaissance, together with the introduction, furnish a helpful clarification of three streams of thought of the period: humanism, Platonism, and Aristotelianism. The works by Francesco Petrarca and Lorenzo Valla reflect their humanistic distrust of philosophy. Petrarca's *On His Own Ignorance and That of Many Others* illustrates his intense dislike for the Averroists, and although he is willing to concede that Aristotle did teach virtue, he prefers Cicero, because Aristotle's lesson "lacks the words that sting and set afire." Valla prefers St. Paul and the early fathers to St. Thomas Aquinas, and in his *Dialogue on Free Will* expresses his opposition to those theologians who depend so much on philosophy. Although Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola derived much from the scholastic heritage, the contribution of both was primarily to the Platonism which was such an important part of the Florentine Renaissance, making of it "an artistic way of life, a this-worldly religion of the imagination—attractive in contour and wistfully reminiscent of another world, like the Platonism of Botticelli's pencil and, like it also, thin and disembodied and ever trembling on the verge of Christian mystery" (p. 7). In his *Five Questions concerning the Mind* Ficino praises the wonderfulness of man, who, not by his senses but by his intelligence, approaches infinite truth and goodness, "the infinite perfection which is God." (pp. 201, 207). Pico, in the *Oration on the Dignity of Man* sees that dignity in man's freedom: his life and position in the universe are determined not by nature, but, chameleon-like, he can become what he will. Although Pietro Pomponazzi followed the Aristotelian, scientific tradition of Padua and Venice, yet, as may be seen in his treatise *On the Immortality of the Soul* he, too, contributed to the theme of the glorification of man, but with a naturalistic humanism which was to become more important in later centuries.

The volume is carefully edited, but it might be noted that no indication is given as to the edition from which the translation of Pico's *Oration* was made. Also, if the translator of Valla's *Dialogue* considered that it is "quite conclusive" that the loyalties of Valla were Christian (p. 149), it seems that the statement should be qualified by admitting that on some occasions it was a strange and very weak loyalty. (WALTER W. J. WILKINSON)

CHAGNY, ANDRÉ. *Cluny et son empire.* (Lyon and Paris: Librairie Emmanuel Vitte. 1949. 4th ed. Pp. 326. 380 frs.)

It is a distinct pleasure to read a work on Cluny which does not limit itself to deploring the excessive amount of liturgical prayer practiced in the great Burgundian abbey and its offshoots. M. Chagny shows that Cluny reached out into other avenues of activity. In fact, his description of the *ordo diurnus* (pp. 156-158) may be regarded as unsatisfactory, for he does not convey a sufficient idea of the immense amount of time actually spent in choir. His interesting chapter on intellectual work is a corrective to the prevailing notion that Cluny was hostile to such activity, and he treats at length of the calligraphy, illumination, painting, ornamentation, sculpture, and architecture carried on in her cloisters and workshops. An entire chapter is devoted to a description of the celebrated *abbatiale,* and full credit is given to the splendid labors of Professor Kenneth J. Conant. The history of the abbey runs not merely to 1109 or 1156, but to that sad October 25, 1793, when the last Mass was offered. The author gives a rather thorough study of the personality and activity of each of the *grands abbés* from Berno to Peter the Venerable. The account of St. Odo is especially charming and makes him stand out as the most evenly balanced of the group. From 1156 the history is somewhat sketchy and certain relaxations, especially the reduction of the novitiate to a few days which began before this date and hastened the decline, are not mentioned. Unfortunately, the book lacks documentation, but for this edition the results of the most recent scholarship, especially of M. Guy de Valous and Dom Jean Leclercq, have been utilized. The specialist will find nothing new here, but both he and the ordinary student of history will derive much pleasure from M. Chagny's pages; if for no other reason, the book is worth perusal for its enthusiasm, so reminiscent of Montalembert. The following stand out as the most needed corrections: read "par" for "pas" (p. 240); on page 277 the date 1080 should read 1180; Honorius Augustodunensis is preferable to Honorius d'Autun (p. 210); the *Life* of Charlemagne referred to on page 167 was by Einhard, not by Alcuin; Pope Innocent II and Alfonso VII *(not* VIII) of Castile were not disputing the right to dispose of the See of Compostela, as stated on page 264; the king was trying to effect the deposition of Archbishop Diego Gelmírez, and Abbot Peter the Venerable intervened with the Pope to prevent this. There is no index. The bibliography is satisfactory, but should include Lucy Smith, *The Early History of the Monastery of Cluny.* (ANSELM BIGGS)

Coopland, G. W. (Ed.) *The Tree of Battles of Honoré Bonet: An English Version with an Introduction.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. 316. $6.00)

For historians of law and moral codes it is a convenience to have this translation of Ernest Nys' text (1883) of Bonet's long famous and authoritative *L'arbre des batailles* (1387), the first popularization of international feudal law. Its 160 chapters in four parts interpret allegorically the vision of St. John at Patmos in relation to past tribulations of holy Church, present the mediaeval conception of the "Four Great Kingdoms," and discuss trial by combat. The major part of the work answers posed questions, as e.g., from what law does war come? and hypothetical cases of codes of conduct for kings, lords, and knights. The historical interpolation (covering 1159-1334) is added, without translation, from the Seillière MS. (in Professor Coopland's possession).

This Provençal priest-courtier and doctor of decretals is now known to be a skillful compiler of pertinent extracts from the works of John of Legnano, Martin the Pole, Bartholomew of Lucca, and Bartolus of Sasso Ferrato. Professor Coopland in his exhaustive introduction brings out, however, the vividness and aptness of Bonet's presentation and in considerable detail describes the general atmosphere of mediaeval thought by which he was conditioned.

The earlier Scottish translation by Gilbert of the Haye (1456) receives generous treatment, considering the errors pointed out (e.g., p. 51). Throughout western Europe Bonet's work had great prestige, chiefly in the fifteenth but lasting till the eighteenth century—prestige among laymen, for the legists quote his sources. Many examples are given (pp. 22-23) of the incorporation of parts of the *Tree* in other writers, notably Christine de Pisan. Its contemporary interest arose largely through Bonet's treatment of topics then acute, such as the papal schism and the adoption of Louis by Jeanne of Naples. Other topics remain not without present interest as "whether this world can by nature be without conflict, and at peace." (Mary McDonald Long)

Corner, George W. (Ed.). *The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press for the American Philosophical Society. 1949. Pp. 399. $5.00.)

For the first time printed in full from manuscripts in possession of the American Philosophical Society and the Library Company of Philadelphia, the important self-story and commonplace books or diaries (1789-1813) of a prominent figure in the life of the early Republic appear in handsome and appropriate dress. The editing and annotating have been done with knowledge, skill, and discretion. Passages omitted in earlier editions of these documents have been restored, notably those which deal with Dr. Rush's opposition to the conduct of the medical service of the Revolutionary Army and his quarrels with George Washington on that subject.

Dr. Rush, physician, medical theorist, signer of the Declaration of Independence, reformer, and very much a man of his era, tells posterity in these documents a good deal about himself, but more by inference about men of his kind—inquiring minds, *savants,* as restlessly dissatisfied with their own pursuits and sciences as they were with contemporary politics, and very positive that the "new spirit" was in all things right and inevitable. There is much factual evidence concerning medicine and medical education in the eighteenth century, interesting data on the conduct of hospitals during the Revolution, and some very personal, thumb-nail sketches of the principal revolutionary patriots as observed by the shrewd, rather intellectually arrogant Dr. Rush. Although the editor has kept himself, in the main, non-partisan he might have been more charitable to Cobbett and the anti-Rush party generally in the debate over Rush's practice in yellow fever, and attributed the fury of the opposition less to ignorance and obscurantism and more to annoyance at Rush's rather smug rectitude and his Republican politics. (JOSEPH G. E. HOPKINS)

DUPRAZ, LOUIS. *Contribution à l'histoire du Regnum Francorum pendant le troisième quart du VII^e siècle (656-680).* (Fribourg en Suisse: Imprimerie St. Paul. 1948. Pp. 426.)

Dupraz makes a splendid contribution in this work toward solving the vexing problems of late Merovingian chronology, and an important discovery concerning the "usurpation" of Grimoald, son of the elder Pepin and Austrasian mayor of the palace (656-62). In a series of four studies which are united by the light they throw on the problem of Grimoald, the author presents arguments that advance his theories toward a logical and inescapable conclusion. In his first study he reconstructs a Merovingian document no longer extant by proving that since the expression, "Tam citra quam ultra Renum sive in pago Alsacinse vel Salninse . . ." found in a document of immunity issued to Saint Denis by Lothair I in 843, could have no meaning for his reign, it must have been based on an earlier one known to have been issued by Clothair III to the same monastery. He goes beyond the internal evidence to conjecture that Ercambold, the Carolingian redactor, had copied the recital of the original Merovingian deed out of enthusiasm for its antiquity.

In the second study by carefully analyzing the scanty documentary evidence, Dupraz establishes with greater precision the dates of Austrasian kings from 656 to 662. This period is important to the whole problem for in it occurred the brief reign of Childebert, the son of Grimoald, placed on the throne by his father in virtue of his adoption by Sigebert III.

The two remaining studies analyze Neustrian reactions to the events of 656-662 in Austrasia, and weigh carefully the relative merits of the various accounts of Grimoald's *coup d'etat.* Dupraz sees in the account of the anonymous Neustrian monk *(Liber historiae Francorum,* chapter 43), an effort to incriminate Grimoald for an act which the Austrasians seem to have considered legitimate in view of Childebert's adoption by the late king. Actually the Neustrians were as interested as the Austrasian mayor of the palace to see Dagobert II out of the way, properly disqualified as a Merovingian ruler by the all-powerful tonsure, and retired to a monastery. Their chagrin at seeing Grimoald's son ascend the throne—the first Carolingian to reign, as Dupraz points out—was in nowise appeased by any consideration of the adoption which the Austrasians themselves recognized. Dupraz believes that Grimoald's activity in behalf of his son was an incident in the long-standing rivalry between Austrasia and Neustria, rather than a betrayal of the dead king's trust. Modern historians whose condemnations of Grimoald are based on the Neustrian chronicler's tendencious account must reconsider the problem in the light of Dupraz' painstaking and apparently incontrovertible study. (Sister Consuelo Maria Aherne)

Fischer, Katherine (Trans.). *The Burgundian Code.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1949. Pp. xiii, 106. $2.25.)

It may well be that many a student has known this body of barbarian customary law only from what he has read in such works as Samuel Dill's *Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age.* Now Miss Fischer has put us in her debt both by turning into English the complete text of the sixth century legal code whereby the Burgundians regulated their contacts with one another, and by giving us an introduction which fits the compilation into its historical setting. The translation follows closely upon the original Latin and reads well enough in English. Here and there, this reviewer would question the rendition. Thus, he thinks preface, #13 (p. 21) misses the Latin meaning, and he dislikes the use *passim* of "it is pleasing" for "placuit." "Voluntary act of presumption" in XXIII, 1 (p. 39) is not a good translation of "praesumptione et arbitrio suo." "However often" in LXXVII, 1 (p. 74) is too strong for "quotiens"; "whenever" would have had the merit of simplicity and accuracy.

The bibliography has, indeed, been put together with some labor, though it is not quite up to date. Both Th. Perrenot: "Du mode d'établissement des Burgondes dans l'est et le sud-est de la Gaule," *Mémoires de l'institut historique de Provence,* II (1925), 62-73, and Marc Perroud: "La Savoie burgonde, 443-534," *Mémoires et documents publiées par la Société Savoisienne d'histoire et d'archéologie,* 66 (1929), 263-276, deserved notice among the studies dealing with the Burgundians, while Hans Fehr: "Der Geist der altburgundischen Gesetz," *Schweizer Beiträge zur allgemeinen Geschichte* (Aarau), III (1945), 5-21, would have been useful in the introduction. Not a little light might have been gotten upon the use of "Romanus" in this and other barbarian codes from a whole series of recent articles commencing with S. Stein: "Der 'Romanus' in den fränkischen Rechtsquellen," *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung,* 43 (1929), 1-19, and running through Marc Bloch: "Un pseudo-problème: le 'Romanus' des lois franques," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger,* 24-25 (1946-47), 1-10. Since Miss Fischer has seen fit to include studies on the related barbarian codifications in her listing, it is regrettable that she has overlooked S. Stein: "Lex Salica," *Speculum,* 22 (1947), 113-134; 395-418, and the revolutionary conclusions of Alfonso Garcia Gallo: "Nacionalidad et territorialidad del derecho en la época visigoda," *Anuario de historia del derecho Español,* 13 (1936-39), 168-264, which is digested in *Revue historique,* 200 (July-Sept. 1948), 96-98, where subsequent critiques are noted. (Henry G. J. Beck)

Fox, Helen M. (Translated from the French and Ed.). *Abbé David's Diary. Being an Account of the French Naturalist's Journeys and Observations in China in the Years 1866 to 1869.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949. Pp. xxxii, 302. $5.00.)

A century ago China became first officially accessible to Europeans. Only twenty years later Father Armand David entered China and went as far as Inner Mongolia, thus becoming one of the very first of the European naturalists to visit and collect animals and plants in this region so rich in species, many of them unknown to European science at that time. His diary, although written primarily as notes to accompany his wonderful collections of fauna and flora, is filled with interesting notes on the intelligent Chinese population ruined by the exactions of the bands of robbers, by the pilfering of the army, the official robbers, by the prevailing bribery of the political system and of the law courts. The quaint customs, the religious prejudices, the economic system of the Chinese of his day are told in the fascinating narrative at the same time unconsciously showing the charmingly frank character of the narrator.

The mishaps, the hardships, the piquant often grotesque situations in which the abbé found himself are described in incisive, lucid fashion and afford a series of vivid pictures of China of a century ago. The ability to endure the long journeys filled with hardships, undertaken on foot by the hardy missionary are attributed by himself to his early Basque training.

The translator has successfully turned into English the delightful French original. The book is enhanced by seventeen reproductions, many of them fine examples of the exquisite Chinese sense of design.

Speaking from his long experience in the Far East, Dr. E. D. Merrill has contributed a short foreword summing up the scientific value of the abbé's writings, along with that of the considerable number of other French Catholic missioners who went to China during this epoch, whose names are famous in the history of science, perpetuated as generic and specific names of many animals and plants of China.

This translation of Abbé David's diary ranks among the most interesting recent books of travel. (Hugh T. O'Neill)

Frank, Jerome. *Courts on Trial: Myth and Reality in American Justice.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1949. Pp. xii, 441. $5.00.)

Judge Frank who is an appellate court judge holds in this book that reforms must be made at the trial court level if the administration of justice is to be improved. Observing that most cases never get beyond the trial court and that, therefore, the popular idea of law is based largely upon experiences encountered there, he feels that much cynicism and disrespect accorded to judicial institutions could be avoided if the trial courts generally did a more satisfactory job of fact-finding which is their special function. Unless fact-finding is properly done, emphasis on the certainty of legal rules as found in appellate court decisions is unwarranted, he believes, since justice depends upon the application of legal rules to the fact situations to be found in individual cases.

In turning away from emphasis on the certainty of legal rules and toward the better administration of justice in individual cases, Judge Frank rejects positivism and approaches the realism of those adherents of the natural law position whom the positivists used to deride as casuists. It is regrettable that his efforts to learn about the Thomistic philosophy of law, as disclosed in the chapter on natural law, have not been more rewarding. There is much subjectivism in his work and there is still a failure to understand the basic realism of the best natural law philosophy, especially with respect to rights and to judgment. Nevertheless, he writes interestingly and his aims and efforts at improving the administration of justice through better methods of fact-finding in individual cases cannot fail to win the support of the representatives of all schools of legal philosophy, most of all those who adhere to Thomistic realism. Would that there were books written from a sound natural law philosophy as stimulating as this one. (MIRIAM THERESA ROONEY)

GARRATY, JOHN ARTHUR. *Silas Wright.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. 426. $5.00.)

As the author notes, Silas Wright is one of the forgotten men of American history. Clio, that fickle goddess, will not let the historical fraternity forget that exile from Vermont, Stephen Douglas. Yet Wright, another expatriate from the Green Mountains, was in his day no less prominent than Douglas and is now ignored. Douglas, however, influenced the course of history; Wright did not.

Elected state senator, Wright quickly proved a valuable lieutenant to Van Buren in the Albany Regency. Sent to Congress, Wright had a hand in the Tariff of Abominations. Later, as senator from New York, he gained stature as one of the leaders of the Democracy. On his election to the governorship of New York he took over from Van Buren the control of the Regency. An incipient boom to give him the Democratic nomination in the election of 1848 was cut short by his death. His unquestioned political integrity had caused him to reject the vice-presidency and membership in the cabinet. And yet his historical importance is small.

Dr. Garraty, at present assistant professor at Michigan State College, has in this volume, his doctoral dissertation, done his best to rehabilitate Wright's vanished name. The work is the product of a competent scholarship. Particularly notable are the treatment of the Tariff of Abominations, the Democratic nomination of Polk in 1844, and the competent handling of the confusing maze of New York politics. (FRANCIS X. CURRAN)

GREENSLADE, S. L., Lightfoot Professor of Divinity in the University of Durham. *The Church and the Social Order: a Historical Sketch.* (London: SCM Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1949. Pp. 128. $1.75.)

In brief compass Canon Greenslade has given us a superior survey of the work done by, and a delineation of what can be expected of, the Christian Church in the betterment of social conditions. Necessarily selective, it avoids superficiality and presents a surprising amount of well digested information. The form of the study is pyramidal. Chapter One traces the social achievement of the entire Church to the close of the patristic period. Chapters Two and Three restrict their view to the attainments of the western Church during the Middle Ages. The fourth chapter attends to the contribution of the various Protestant bodies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while the concluding chapter confines its remarks to non-Catholic England from the eighteenth to the present century. Others besides Catholics will regret the omission of a section on the social action and thought of recent Popes.

Now and then, e.g., pp. 56 ff., 109 ff., Canon Greenslade turns apologist. But even here his treatment of what the Church has achieved with reference to war and to slavery is not without balance. Of his five chapters, the first is the best integrated. The fourth, though good, hardly does more than go over again the ground covered by Weber, Tawney, and Troeltsch (the author seems not to know Fanfani). It is only by comparison with recent unsatisfactory work in this field—William Dale Morris' *Christian Origins of Social Revolt* (Allen and Unwin, 1949) comes to mind—that the reader gets to appreciate properly the general soundness of Canon Greenslade's judgments.

(HENRY G. J. BECK)

HALÈVY, ELIE. *England in 1815.* (New York: Peter Smith. 1949. Pp. xvi, 655. $6.00.)

This reprinting of the first volume of Halèvy's *History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century* makes available a masterpiece long out of print. A rereading has strengthened the reviewer's admiration for the author's vast erudition and his subtle and inquiring mind. The detachment of a foreigner enabled Halèvy to see the tragic importance of English agricultural developments. As a Frenchman he was concerned with the reasons for England's victory over revolutionary and Napoleonic France, and in describing the English army and navy he found no plausible answer. The 'miracle of England' is his problem. How was it that a society whose contradictions, divisions, ignorance, and institutional incompetence he described so well, could plunge far into the tides of industrial capitalism and endure no revolution? Perhaps, only a Frenchman would have posed the question in that way and only a Frenchman would have seen so vividly the almost systematic disorder of British government. In this volume Halèvy recognized that no materialistic and determinist hypothesis could provide an explanation for the miracle. The Methodist and Evangelical movement offered the most satisfactory answer for the early years of industrial change. In his unfinished fourth volume, however, he perceived a somewhat different solution in the numerical growth of the middle class.

The present volume in attempting to dissect the anatomy of England in 1815 ranges back into the eighteenth and even the seventeenth centuries. The footnotes are full of interesting material, including, e.g., an opinion by the Duke of Wellington that "no individual can recollect the order in which, nor the exact moment at which, they [the details of a battle] occurred, which makes all the difference as to their value or importance" (p. 90). Typical Halèvy

judgments are the following: "The English were a nation of manufacturers and merchants governed by an aristocracy who made it a point of honour to appear ignorant, indeed to be ignorant of the economic foundation on which rested both the national greatness and their own. And it was at Oxford that this aristocracy finished its education (p. 547);" "The British Army was an army of snobs, but the universal snobbery produced a maximum of good (p. 83)."
(M. A. FITZSIMONS)

HENNING, BASIL D., FOORD, ARCHIBALD S., and MATHIAS, BARBARA L. *Crises in English History, 1066-1945.* (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1949. Pp. xv, 571. $3.80.)

This book is designed for college courses in historical method. It should serve the purpose admirably. It presents twenty-two problems in the history of England, beginning with materials on the technical rights of William the Conqueror to the English crown and concluding with the general election of 1945. A selection of source materials as well as representative secondary syntheses and judgments is furnished for each problem. Since both the source and secondary materials conflict—sometimes violently—on the interpretation of the facts and even at times on the facts themselves, many nice problems of criticism are developed.

There are blemishes, of course. Few teachers will agree altogether with the rightness of the choice made in selecting the problems. The present reviewer would have preferred the Grand Remonstrance to the Petition of Right since it seems to him that the question of arbitrary Stuart taxation is more clearly developed as an issue in the former. Some quarrel could be made, too, with the presentation of the dissolution of the monasteries. The matter is treated as an inquiry into the alleged immoralities of the monks rather than into the much more significant economic effects of these royal confiscations.

All in all, though the book is obviously a good teachable text, and may confidently be recommended to those seeking a compact yet comprehensive book for that methods course next semester. (EDWIN A. BEILHARZ)

HUNTER, LOUIS C. *Steamboats on the Western Rivers. An Economic and Technological History.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. xiii, 684. $10.00.)

The sub-title accurately indicates the field and the limitations of this excellent book. Professor Hunter has produced an exhaustive study which would be impressive for its sheer mass of detail if nothing else. The material is logically organized and well indexed. The steamboat is first studied as an economic instrument: the evolution of its hull, superstructure, and engines to meet the needs of western rivers and their trade, its operation, accidents, and river improvement. The second part considers the steamboat as a business institution: the fact that boats were ordinarily individually owned and the consequent organization, or absence of organization, as a system of transportation, the accommodations for passengers—cabin and deck, and the officers and crew. A third part of the book, "Peak and Decline," is devoted largely to the effect of the railroads on steamboating, government regulation, and the steamboat's history in the war and post-war years generally. Any facts about steamboats not found in the body of the book turn up in the tables in the appendix—from fireboxes to freight rates.

This work should thoroughly sate the reader's appetite for information about the construction and business management of steamboats, but it will leave him with increased curiosity about the effect of the steamboat on western life—largely on account of the glimpses Professor Hunter gives. In other words, the point of view here is primarily how the steamboat was affected by its world. The influence of the steamboat on settlement, on the development of trade and industry, and similar matters is brought in somewhat indirectly, and being beyond the author's purpose is not treated in the same detail.

The diagrams, drawings, and photographs are good and truly illustrate the history of the steamboat. (PETER BECKMAN)

JERROLD, DOUGLAS. *An Introduction to the History of England from the Earliest Times to 1204.* (London: Collins Publishers. 1949. Pp. 614. $5.00. 21s.)

Historians agree that the specialized monograph is not the end of historical work but an essential step towards achieving the accurate synthesis. In the field of mediaeval English history such syntheses have been successfully prepared by Hodgkin, Stenton, and Powicke among others. The work under review does not fit into this category; Mr. Jerrold is far from the stature of the professional mediaevalist. What he sets out to do is to utilize the works of such first-hand scholars as these so as "to study the historical process as a whole over a sufficient period and throughout a sufficiently wide area to exemplify its working." Accordingly he presents a survey of events in Britain insofar as they can be ascertained from the earliest appearance of man to 1204 A. D. As a unifying factor in that long—and just that long—a sweep of time, Mr. Jerrold seems to emphasize England's passive role as a receiver of peoples, of cultures, and of ideas. Certainly part of the value of the book stems from his concise summaries of the genesis of movements before their impact upon England. But he is also vitally interested to show how England assimilated all these raw materials, as it were, of her destiny.

As his touchstone of successful history Mr. Jerrold proposes, "not what has happened, but what has mattered." His concern is not for the accuracy of facts; for that he trusts to his sources. Rather he asks to be judged—as a new H. A. L. Fisher—upon "whether the writer's judgment is sound on the facts as known." He approaches his task with two commendable convictions: 1) of the extreme complexity of the historical process and its immense extension in time; and 2) of progress, not as automatic but as the result of constant effort. With his eye on the contemporary scene, he is all anxiety to point out the generalized principles and morals which he finds in individual events of the past. He would be the integrating medium for the research historians on one hand and the practising politicians and publicists on the other—certainly a not unworthy aim.

Regarding his discharge of this task it may be granted that the author has not been narrow in his outlook, for he has fitted into perspective the peasant contributions of Neolithic stock, the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity, as well as the loss of Normandy in 1204. Neither has he, save for a mild social and economic conservatism, any doctrinaire enthusiasm to exploit. On broad lines, therefore, the book may be commended. Faults nevertheless obtrude.

The author's abstractions and conclusions are woven closely into the text, so much so that they sometimes weigh excessively upon the original fact. On the other hand, the lack of an over-all conclusion and, perhaps, several sub-summaries is a real disappointment. The style is very uneven. Offsetting the brilliant, gem-like sentences (usually those which bear the author's generalizations) are those which degenerate into awkwardness, lack of clarity, and even grammatical errors. Moreover, in a work of this kind confidence in the secondary sources is essential. It is peculiarly disconcerting, therefore, to find no bibliography, a considerably erratic system of footnote references, and the use of data which, as e.g., in the chronology of Near Eastern history, is not abreast of current scholarship. Thus it is with considerable less brilliance that Mr. Jerrold has done for England what Christopher Dawson did for mediaeval Europe. (Sister M. Thomas Aquinas Carroll)

Johnson, Allan Chester and Louis C. West. *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies.* [Princeton University Studies in Papyrology, No. 6.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 344. $5.00.)

This volume arrives at some startling and highly original conclusions about the economic history of Egypt from 297 A.D. to the Arab conquest. The multitudinous detail, culled from the literature, excavations, and principally from the papyri, is arranged and discussed under various headings such as land, people, defense, taxation, with numerous subdivisions. Throughout, the authors emphasize the uniqueness of the culture and economy of Egypt, and maintain that, while the population in the rest of the empire sank into serfdom, Egypt had a free peasantry owning small farms and lived through the best period of its long history. The poll tax was not levied, the other imposts were reasonable, and the grower had a good market for his surplus. Industry was as diversified as ever and trade as prosperous. Even on the large estates, which seem to have been few, the lessee was free and not bound to the soil. The only serfs in Egypt were on the personal holdings of the ruler. The privileged status of the Greeks thus taken away, the Hellenistic urban life died out (the disappearance of the *curiales* need not be blamed on imperial legislation), and the native came into his own. The age-old indigenous culture enjoyed a veritable renaissance. The *chrysargyron* was not repealed in Egypt. The book has a good index.

(Martin J. Higgins)

Leclercq, Jean, O.S.B. (Ed. and Trans.). *Yves de Chartres. Correspondence.* Tome I (1090-1098). [Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge, Vol. XXII.] (Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres." 1949. Pp. xlii, 317.)

Yves de Chartres was the outstanding prelate in France during the critical period when the Gregorian Reform was beginning to make real progress under Urban II and when it suffered its first setbacks under Paschal II. The role he played in the Capetian kingdom was similar to that of his more famous contemporary, St. Anselm of Canterbury, in the Anglo-Norman realm; both bishops were conciliatory rather than intransigent, thus differing from Gregory VII and Urban II, but neither exhibited the lack of heroism so conspicuous in Paschal II. It was Yves who formulated what was to become the solution of the investiture quarrel, a solution which, though rejected by Urban II, was accepted by Paschal II for the ending of the struggle in England and by Calixtus II in the Concordat of Worms. Furthermore, it was Yves who developed the theory of the Truce of God and labored to promote its observance. His contemporaries highly regarded his erudition and consulted him on questions of law, liturgy, theology, and spirituality.

The letters of Yves are one of the most important sources for the society of his time; they depict most aspects of mediaeval life, especially the progress of reform and the role of various prominent persons in this effort. Dom Leclercq is performing a splendid service in editing this correspondence. For the most part, he found it necessary to collate only three manuscripts, all of them from the *fonds latin* of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and since they seldom disagree an extensive critical apparatus could be dispensed with; but when occasion required, he has recourse to other manuscripts. The translation is excellent and strives successfully to retain the writer's vigor of style and its flavor. The notes do not attempt to solve all the problems raised by the letters—or even to recognize them—but merely to place the letters in the circumstances that evoked them and to render them as intelligible as possible. The fine introduction, after a brief account of Yves' life, gives a masterful treatment and keen analysis of his character and his letters and thoroughly discusses the manuscripts and earlier editions. There is a concordance of the present edition with that of François Juret of 1610 (the one reprinted by Migne). On page x the date 1199 should read 1099; on page xxiii Victor II should be Victor III. (ANSELM BIGGS)

LETTS, MALCOLM. (Ed. and Trans.) *The Pilgrimage of Arnold of Harff translated from the German.* (London: Hackluyt Society. 1946. Pp. xxv, 325.)

On November 7, 1496, the Knight Arnold von Harff left Cologne to travel through Italy, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Ethiopia, Nubia, Palestine, Turkey, France, and Spain and to return to Cologne on November 10, 1499, having covered 3,942 German miles. He claims to have visited India, Madagascar, Central and East Africa but apparently this claim cannot be substantiated. "If we cut out the whole of this interlude which fills only 16 out of 251 pages, we still have a narrative of travel which stands unchallenged." The descriptions of Rome, Venice, Rhodes, Constantinople, Cairo would alone "entitle Harff to an honored place among travellers." He states at the beginning and end of his narrative that travel was his primary object and his book was to be a guide for travellers. He visited the Christian as well as Mohammedan sanctuaries. In disguise he entered the mosques in Jerusalem, the Holy House in

Mecca, and St. Sophia in Constantinople. Likewise he did not miss an opportunity to visit the Christian sanctuaries; he crept into the hovels of the hermits of the Nitrian desert and scaled the heights of Mount Sinai to visit the shrine of St. Catherine. Three hours of climbing took him to the top of the Pyramids. Harff is interested in arsenals and training of soldiers, in trade and manufactures, in natural phenomena. He had an eye for pretty women and visited even the sultan's harem in Constantinople. His predilection for collecting words and phrases of foreign languages made his book valuable to philologists. He was the first traveller to report on the Albanian language. He delights to describe gardens and strange animals and enriches his travel book with pen-sketches of those animals and costumes of men and women. Despite occasional jibes about relics (the body of St. Dominic was shown him in Spain and in Bologna and the body of St. Matthew in Rome and Padua) he never misses an opportunity to note down the names of the relics found in the sanctuaries he visited; likewise the long lists of spurious indulgences granted reputedly to visitors.

The editor of this work deserves all praise. He states that he elucidated the text as best he could. He has used an unusually large bibliography and it would appear that he has left very few problems unsolved. I noticed only three places where Mr. Letts omitted to correct the faulty spelling of Harff. Neither the translation nor the annotations of the editor show any anti-Catholic bias, even in mentioning the abuses found by Harff in Rome and Jerusalem. Mr. Letts expresses the wish that Harff's work may "become better known to English readers" through his translation and edition. He added a notable contribution to the long list of travel books published by the Hakluyt Society of London. (Mark J. Linenberger)

Lux Leonard, O.S.B., *The Vincennes Donation Lands.* [Indiana Historical Society Publications. Vol. 15. No. 2.] (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society. 1949. Pp. 423-497. $1.00.)

This work is a detailed study of the land grants at Vincennes on the Wabash during the early years of American independence, particularly the grants made by Congress to the French inhabitants in accordance with a petition they drew up in 1787. The discussion is carried to 1821 when the locations were completed. The first of the three chapters which summarize the early history of the post in explanation of the petition, contains an excellent account of the local agricultural system. The author has clearly analyzed successive legislative acts, decisions, and methods of procedure, indicating the purposes, benefactors, and amounts of the donations. From the investigation he has deduced several interesting facts: the original subordination of agriculture to the fur trade, the arrival of the Americans before the natural expansion of the frontier, the change in the economic base of the community, and the lost opportunity of the French who immediately sold the lands they received, thus submerging themselves economically, politically, and socially. A list of the purchases made by Francis Vigo, chief of the land speculators, is given in the appendix. Original sources were used wherever possible; the volume is indexed and is accompanied by a large map. (Robert Gorman)

McDermott, William C. *Gregory of Tours. Selections from the Minor Works.* [University of Pennsylvania, Department of History. Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of History. Third Series, Vol. 4.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 109. $2.50.)

The scholarly setting into which Dr. McDermott fits his translations from the minor writings of St. Gregory of Tours is an important feature of his little book. The introduction is concise and adequate, containing, as it does, a biography of Gregory, an estimate of his historical ability and methods, a discussion of his works, their dates of composition, and their grammatical style. The author also introduces each of the five sections of translations by an explanatory note. Abstruse points in the texts are taken care of in footnotes. A good bibliography and index complete the work. It is a book by a student for students.

The translations aim to give the student an idea of the religio-historical works of the sixth century. The first three sections contain selections from the most important of Gregory's minor works which bear the general title of "The Miracles"; the prefaces to each of the eight books of this collection, the entire first book of "The Miracles of Blessed Martin the Bishop" and one chapter each on St. Gallus of Clermont and St. Gregory of Langres from its seventh book, "The Lives of the Fathers." The fourth part of the translation is devoted to the complete version of "The Passion of the Seven Sainted Martyrs Sleeping at Ephesus." The last section contains Gregory's list of the "Seven Wonders of the World" from *The Course of the Stars.* (Victor J. Gellhaus)

McKelvey, Blake. *Rochester the Flower City, 1855-1890.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. xvii, 407. $5.00.)

Since Henry O'Reilly published his remarkable *Sketches of Rochester* in 1838, barely a generation after Rochester, New York, had been founded, Rochesterians have shown a keen interest in the history of their own locality. This spirit has prompted many of the old families to preserve their valuable family papers for posterity; it has sustained the efforts of a really productive local history society; and directly or indirectly it has stimulated much valuable historical writing, not only by talented hobbyists, but also by such prominent specialists as Lewis Henry Morgan, Orsamus Turner, Frederick Follett, Father Frederick J. Zwierlein, and Dr. William A. Ritchie.

Thus when Dr. Blake McKelvey began, as Rochester city historian (and in Rochester the city historian is always a competent scholar with the rank of a full-time salaried public official), to write the definitive history of the city of his adoption, he was very fortunate in having so much of this archival and written material at hand. But neither his commendable first volume, *Rochester the Water Power City, 1812-1854* (Cambridge, 1945) nor the present volume, is a mere compilation of the facts already unearthed by others. Dr. McKelvey has pieced this available data together deftly and judiciously, it is true; but he has worked up the all-important background of his pattern through a diligent study of the local newspapers. From these "invaluable community diaries" (as he himself calls them), he has not only gathered the major portion of his new information, but he has also learned the rhythm of civic life through the years in all its manifold phases. It is no easy task to organize such varied data into a narrative which actually conveys a faithful notion of the facts and movement and flavor of the life of a community. But *Rochester the Flower City,* because of its author's thoroughness, good historical judgment, and candid objectivity, is both factually and technically a model of local historical writing.

From a purely material viewpoint, the volume is produced with that conservative precision characteristic of its publisher. Only two misprints seem to have escaped the proof reader: "Rochestarians" (p. 175) and "Packmann" for "Pachmann" (p. 341). Dr. McKelvey has advisedly omitted a formal bibliography since his footnotes are very complete. The reviewer believes, however, that an index somewhat fuller in its references to individual Rochester names would have proven more serviceable than the average index actually included.

(ROBERT F. MCNAMARA)

MITCHELL, STEWART. (Ed.) *Handbook of the Massachusetts Historical Society.* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1949. Pp. 182. $5.00.)

The aim of the council in compiling this *Handbook* was, according to Stewart Mitchell's foreword, to give "both Resident and Corresponding Members, and the public, all the information which they may need, or want, as to the oldest historical society in the United States." Modeled upon the London Society of Antiquaries, which began its active career in the year 1717, the Massachusetts Historical Society was founded on August 26, 1790, by Jeremy Belknap, John Eliot, Peter Thacer, William Tudor, and James Winthrop. On January 24, 1791, it initiated its distinguished work of publication, and from the beginning it was heartily supported by the Boston aristocracy. Such reputable scholars as Charles Deane, Worthington C. Ford, Henry S. Commager, and Samuel E. Morison have given its *Proceedings* and its *Collections* a value probably unsurpassed by those of any other privately organized historical society. Persons desiring more specific information as to the extensive publication of the society should refer to *Handbook of the Publications and Photostats, 1792-1935* (Boston, 1937).

Although this is the first complete description of the society to appear, there was printed in 1908 *A Short Account of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1791-1908,* and ten years later a second edition brought the account down through the year 1918. The following chapters of this recent *Handbook* will prove interesting and helpful particularly to students of American history: "Historical Sketch," "Alphabetical List of All Members, 1791-1948," "Collections of Manuscripts," "The Adams Papers," and "Files of Early Newspapers, 1704-1800." (SISTER M. ALPHONSINE FRAWLEY)

MURDOCK, KENNETH B. *Literature & Theology in Colonial New England.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 235. $4.00.)

The Lowell Institute of Boston offers annually a series of lectures on current topics of theology. In 1944 Professor Murdock selected as his subject the influence of Puritan theology on the literary efforts of New England Puritans.

There were, we are sure, more important current theological topics than the one selected, but as long as the trustees of the institute were satisfied we can be grateful that the lectures were given and printed. We have much to learn from the virtues and the defects of the Puritans.

First, as background material, the attitudes of the Anglicans and Catholics toward the use of imagery and appeal to the senses are clearly explained, and a taste of seventeenth-century English religious literature is given. It is a poor century for Catholic literature and hence the reader receives a poor taste.

Then, the literary theory evolved by the Puritans is explained. This posed a serious problem for the Puritans. If they wanted to write literature they were compelled to strive for beauty of form and emotional effects, for they are the essentials for literature. Yet many factors compelled the Puritans to belittle and ignore this appeal to the senses. His hatred for Catholicism which recognized the place of the senses in divine worship and in religious literature was sufficient to turn the Puritan to the other extreme; his theology made him distrust the senses; his reverence for the Bible encouraged a plain style, and this was strengthened by the need of reaching plain, hard working people in their writings. Out of these diverse elements the Puritans compounded a literary theory that stressed content more than form and preferred earthy phrases and images and plain language. But they must have been aware that Solomon and David did not follow their theory. However, the New England Puritans did produce some good literature, and their theory is best exemplified by their histories, diaries, and autobiographies. Their poetry was weak. The Puritans did not create any great religious literature; their theology of a basically corrupt man, the hard doctrine of predestination, the lack of a sacrifice did not lend themselves to such literary creations. But their literary theory and efforts are well worth studying, and with the exception of the last chapter which is a feeble attempt to trace the Puritan legacy Professor Murdock has written some fine chapters on both. (WILLIAM L. LUCEY)

OURSLER, FULTON AND WILL. *Father Flanagan of Boys Town.* (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., Inc. 1949. Pp. xvi, 302. $3.00.)

In a world craving for what is novel the story of Father Flanagan should please a host of readers. Fulton and Will Oursler trace the life of this good priest from the time of his birth in Ireland in 1886 until the day in May, 1948, when he died in Germany on a mission for the American government. When one sees or hears of the successes of great men it is often taken for granted that the steps of their triumphs were as easy and as pleasant as the final result.

This book proves the opposite. The life of Monsignor Flanagan was one of struggle—struggle with ill health in youth, sickness later which delayed ordination and almost cost him his priesthood, and then the life-long struggle to realize an ideal—Boys Town. The story is not simply presented in a year by year diary form but one interspersed with stories of individual characters, showing the type of problem with which he was faced and then his solution of it. His contention was that all must be founded on the supernatural, and every device used sprang from that conviction. "The simple fact is," he said, "that nothing earthly can fill the void in the human heart" (p. 34). Only when one reads of his simple beginnings, of more than a decade of years of reverses, lack of funds, scepticism of friends, and then the "silent opposition" of even fellow Catholics, will the figure of Father Flanagan be truly appreciated.

Many questions are answered and facts presented here to the reader. One learns that only twenty percent at Boys Town at a given time could be considered one-time criminals, that the work started with housing and caring for unemployed men, and that the burden of education is today in the hands of non-sectarian instructors. This book, informative and at the same time interesting, should rate favorably as a biographical study of a man who had a burning ideal, who met with reverses enough to discourage the greatest of men, but with faith and courage was able to meet all obstacles and live just long enough to see that ideal prevail over all and find himself personally appreciated not only by Boys Town but by his Church and by the governments of nations.

(William J. Boldt)

Painter, Sidney. *The Reign of King John.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 397. $5.50.)

Mr. Painter has written, to use his own words, "essentially a political and administrative history" of the reign of John, attempting, he adds, "to delineate fully the background and immediate consequences of the issuance of Magna Carta." The general picture of John that emerges from these pages is not a new one. He was unscrupulous, violent, suspicious of his vassals (though one may suspect that no sane monarch of that day would have trusted his barons very far, and that John in particular had ample reason for mistrust), and he certainly was no model of the chivalric virtues. Though capable of major blunders, he was, at his best, a shrewd and calculating ruler. This side of him showed well in his relations with the Church. One gets the feeling that John had the ecclesiastical situation well in hand throughout his reign; he profited heavily from the interdict, was unperturbed by excommunication, and made peace with the Papacy to his own, and not the Church's, advantage.

John's troubles with his barons are attributed primarly to his financial policies, produced in turn by rising royal expenses (especially military), and the king's efforts to get his share of the realm's increasing wealth. His difficulties were aggravated by his personal unpopularity, and by the collapse of his foreign policy, dramatized by the loss of Normandy and the defeat at Bouvines. But for Mr. Painter these factors are not sufficient to explain the baronial uprising and Magna Carta. "While the policies of John as king may have kept his vassals in a permanent state of discontent, it was his personal quarrels that supplied leaders for the disaffected"—this is the essential theme of the study, and the author implements it with a detailed and thoroughly documented account of John's relations with a small group of key English barons, bringing to his task all that painstaking research and grasp of detail that marked his works on Peter of Dreux and William Marshal.

Mr. Painter himself notes that it is easier to trace John's connections with a few great barons than "to form a coherent picture of his relations with the English baronage as a whole." But his approach is a fruitful one, and certainly throws much light on the conduct of both the king and the principal barons in John's reign. Consequently, this study contains substantial additions to our knowledge of an important period of English history.

(RICHARD W. EMERY)

PEASE, THEODORE CALVIN. *The Story of Illinois.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1949. Pp. xviii, 284. $5.00.)

Scholarly attainments and experience in historical writing are clearly evident in this concise, authoritative account of Illinois. This is no mere chronicling of events but a masterly marshalling of facts presented as the thought-movement of a people, as the development of institutional life. Illinois is rightly conceived as a region, varying in extent, rather than as a definite, arbitrary, political division. Through this region roam the peoples—red, white, and black—exploiting or being exploited. Nations clash over control of the land and the victorious Americans plunge further into civil conflict over the slave question. All this is vividly portrayed by the author as the epitome of the conflicts in the nation as a whole.

His comments on the influence of the Jesuits on the Indians in the region are well made. While praising their enthusiasm and unselfish devotion, with only minor reservations, he is forced to the conclusion that the permanent results were very meager. It is regrettable that such adequate treatment of Roman Catholicism does not continue throughout the volume. From statehood on *The Story of Illinois* almost completely ignores the role Catholics played in the development of the State. Their activities and those of Jane Addams receive approximately the same amount of space, while the Mormons fare considerably better. This is hardly observing due proportion. The disproportion becomes more evident when one enters into detail and considers the care with which the movements of petty politicians and conniving speculators are reported while the name of such a man as Bishop William Quarter, a forceful leader with a great soul, is not so much as mentioned. Could it be that we are partially to blame by failing to make our Catholic source material sufficiently available?

In spite of this deficiency and a few others too small to note, this is a very excellent piece of historical writing, well constructed, scholarly, and readable; altogether an admirable study of the State, effectively illustrated, and equipped with an adequate index. (J. AUSTIN GRAFF)

PRIBRAM, KARL. *Conflicting Patterns of Thought.* (Washington: Public Affairs Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 176. $3.25.)

Dr. Pribram, now associated with the United States Tariff Commission and a professor at the American University, presents an analytical outline in this timely volume on contemporary international problems. His purpose is to investigate patterns of thought of the world's social philosophies and to indicate how their reasoning has developed social institutions in various forms of governments from ancient times to the present day. The emphasis he places on the importance of this study as a means of solving international problems is justified. The contention that an understanding of them is the basic reason behind various civilizations of the world is made convincing by the author's presentation. Each of the philosophies has a mission behind it.

The German, Italian, and Russian forms of thought receive adequate treatment. The Russian beliefs are especially diagnosed in the light of western reasoning. Russia's communism, while condemning the Catholic Church, arbitrarily imposes its philosophy on others; and while it denounces Christian religions is itself a religion.

This volume with its emphasis being more definitely in the realm of philosophy, is a penetrating discussion of all phases of social relationships of man. All the philosophies are explained in the exacting style of the author, but they would be of more significance had the size of the volume permitted a more thorough explanation. The author adequately achieves his purpose of directing the thought of the historian to these neglected fields of study.

Professor Pribram's concluding chapters point out the fact, now re-emphasized, that the rise and decline of patterns of thought in history have been reflected in the rise and decline of world powers. Wherever these patterns are not clear and consistent, confusion reigns, as in Latin American countries and in the Orient, and here are fertile grounds for the spread of communism. Unified patterns of thought by a government are necessary for it to fulfill its functions. The author believes there is hope of Russia's compromising her philosophy in order to make peace with other nations. This is due to the practice of the communist leaders who are constantly changing their ideas in order to achieve their goals. (GILBERT C. SNOW)

REYNOLDS, EDWARD D., S.J., *Jesuits for the Negro.* (New York: America Press. 1949. Pp. v, 232. $2.50.)

> This is the story of those Jesuits who have worked for the Negro, and chiefly of what they have done in the United States.
>
> The book is not intended to discuss the limitations of that work as a whole. Nor will it advertise the failings of individual Jesuits in their dealings with the colored.
>
> It cannot be claimed that the Society of Jesus has ever undertaken a wide and organized apostolate to the Negroes of the United States. It has, indeed, cared for the Negroes along with their white brethren in Maryland for 300 years. But elsewhere the Society seems to have been engaged in a series of skirmishes with the problem of bringing the colored people into the Catholic Church.

Such a long quotation from the foreword of a book would be unjustified if it were not for the fact that it contains the substance of the work as well as its weakness. The recounting of skirmishes in the United States, particularly in Florissant, Missouri, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Denver, Spokane, San Diego, Louisiana, Mobile, and Florida, with fuller details on the old county missions of Maryland, takes up the major portion of the book. The opening and concluding chapters treat of Jesuit-Negro relations outside the United States, first in Africa and South America and then in Jamaica. The section "Jesuit Advocates and Teachers," dealing with national efforts and the Jesuits' particular forte, education, is the most interesting, in spite of what it leaves unsaid.

The labor of compiling the book, unfortunately, seems to have been a skirmish with the materials gathered over the years by Father Arnold Garvey, S.J. Raids on this source, quite honestly admitted in the foreword, result mainly in assorted quotes and digests from saccharine-toned magazine articles. Because of this, current and standard works on Negrology are missing from the bibliography and the statistics are neither uniform nor up to date.

It is also to be regretted that it is only a half-story, with what the Jesuits sincerely have done *for* the Negro standing pale and, at times, vapid without the contrast of internal and external opposition to bring out its true color and meaning: *e.g.*, Father Heithaus and St. Louis University. Structurally segmented by the varied localities treated, unity is lost by little continuity within the chapters and by source references bewilderingly placed in the body of the work. If the author had endeavored to evaluate his material in the light of the general attitude—or lack of attitude—of the Jesuits to the Negro and the Negro missions, unity might have been achieved, as well as a contribution made to understanding the relationship of the American Catholic Church and the Negro. (PETER E. HOGAN)

ROBERTS, H. ERNST. *Notes on the Medieval Monasteries and Ministers of England and Wales.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1949. Pp. xii, 160. $2.50.)

There was a great number of religious houses, large and small, in mediaeval England, but of many of them few or no remains survive. A half dozen abbey churches were made Anglican cathedrals in the sixteenth century, and some others—fewer than one might anticipate—became parish churches and these have been preserved. But monastic property generally was secularized, some of the buildings being turned into country homes of the new gentry and nobility, others being used as quarries for building materials or simply allowed to fall to pieces. Yet all in all many fragments remain, and Mr. Roberts' purpose has been to compile a handbook which would list all relics of any interest. Canterbury cathedral receives four pages, but the average entry is only a few lines, which briefly describe the remains and indicate the style of architecture. In a few cases short historical notes on the buildings are added. There are a few introductory pages which seek to orient the tyro in the mystery of monks and monasteries; while at the end are gathered several lists which group the monasteries in various ways. Doubtless the author's chief aim has been to furnish a guidebook to those who may be able to visit some of the sites. The book has no academic pretensions; still it will be of real interest in every Catholic library where, it is to be hoped, occasional readers will be curious to learn what can still be seen of the famous old abbeys of which they read in literature and history. Thirty-three pages of good photographs add much to its interest. Many of the establishments listed in Knowles' *Religious Houses of Medieval England* are missing in Roberts, even in his list of those houses of which there are no remains. A second edition should supply an index which would give all houses under a single alphabet. But it is an interesting and attractive little volume for the reference shelf, and the price is low. (CARLETON M. SAGE)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

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'Planned' History and the Present. Michal Vyvyan (*ibid.*).
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Irenaeus of Lugdunum and the Apostolic Succession. Einar Molland (*ibid.*).
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